

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 2 No. 11

March 12, 1983

Jaffna Hospital is starved of Drugs

The Jaffna Hospital is in the throes of a drug crisis. Essential drugs and medicines are in short supply as a result of the non-receipt of quotas from Colombo. SATURDAY REVIEW learns the quotas which should have been received in January have not been sent. The Hospital

is also starved of all items of stationery. It is feared that very soon patients might be required to bring their own pieces of paper for prescriptions.

The Jaffna Hospital caters daily to about 3000 patients, both in-door and out-door.

Army Major made his point!

SATURDAY REVIEW figured in a discussion at the Gurunagar Army Camp on Thursday evening.

This happened when a 5-member delegation—including a lady and a Sinhalese—from the University Teachers Association of the University of Jaffna called over, by prior appointment, at the Camp to meet the three undergraduate detenus.

Brigadier Lyle Balthazar told the delegation he wouldn't allow them to meet the detenus as inquiries were still going on. Besides, he said, the detenus might stop talking once they met the delegation as they'd realise 'agitation' for their release was going on outside.

Major Kulatunge chipped in at this point to say that in November last year they had allowed a UTA delegation to meet and talk to their colleague M. Nithiananthan who was detained at Gurunagar at the time. And what happened, the Major asked rhetorically? A while later SATURDAY REVIEW had come out with a report of Nithiananthan and the other detenus being tortured at Gurunagar. What did the UTA do? Did it come to the defence of the Army, the Major asked querulously, seconded by the Brigadier?

The UTA delegation had to turn back empty-handed after nearly an hour's talk with the Gurunagar Army Brass.

All campuses are boiling over!

Over a hundred outstation undergraduates of the University of Jaffna, have sought refuge, with bag and baggage, in the Jaffna campus premises. These undergraduates who were boarded in private lodgings in various homes in Jaffna have been terrified into taking this step, they say, following swoops by security forces on private homes which have led so far to the arrest and detention of 3 undergraduates from Trincomalee—S. Selvanayagam, S. Mohanasunderam and G. Chandrakumar.

Meanwhile a wave of discontent is sweeping University campuses throughout the country. The Colombo University strike went into the second week while undergraduates at Peradeniya, Kelaniya, Ruhunu and Batticaloa began boycotting all classes on Monday protesting the

"Police brutality" unleashed on the strikers at Colombo University and Sri Jayawardenepura University.

Two of the Jaffna undergraduates, Selvanayagam and Mohanasunderam were arrested on Tuesday, March 8th around 10 p.m., while they were watching television in a neighbour's house. Their landlord, S. Ramasamy, was taken along with them to the Gurunagar Army Camp for questioning. G. Chandrakumar, a first year student following a course in Business Administration was arrested by the Security Forces on Wednesday night at his boarding house at Kalviyankadu.

The undergraduate re-

fugees moved into the Campus premises on Thursday evening fearing arrest or harassment by security personnel. Their spokesman told SATURDAY REVIEW they had to take this step as their landlords too were understandably getting jittery after this week's wave of arrests of outstation students.

Jaffna University undergraduates began an indefinite boycott of lectures on Thursday afternoon protesting these arrests. They demand protection from indiscriminate and arbitrary arrest, the release of the arrested undergraduates and the Jaffna Polytechnic Institute

student K. Selvarajah (who was arrested on Monday morning while following lectures; he too is from Trincomalee), and hostel facilities for outstation students. At present, the Men's hostel and the Women's hostel accommodate less than 125 students between them. They also demand that the Vice-Chancellor's permission be obtained before any undergraduate is arrested.

The University Teachers' Association of the University of Jaffna, which met in emergency session on Thursday morning, has vehemently protested against the indiscriminate arrest of undergraduates, demanded

(Continued on page 12)

The Jaffna Textile Weavers' Co-op : Editorial Note

The Jaffna District Textile Weavers' Co-operative Society Ltd. has sent us a five-page reply in response to our Lead News item in last week's issue. In a covering letter the President of the Society, Mr. S. Visuvalingam, writes to the Editor:

"I was surprised to read your article under the heading *Jaffna Textile Weavers Co-operative Society heads for a collapse* appearing in the front page of the SATURDAY REVIEW of 5.3.83. The report is full of distortions and exaggerations and it is my duty as the president of the society and as a retired Assistant Director of Textile Industries to apprise you of the facts relating to various allegations referred to in the article lest the members, the weavers and the general public form a wrong view of the state of affairs in the society.

"Things would have been better, had you verified these from the society or from the department of Textile Industries which supervises this society, before publication.

"Anyway, I would be pleased if you would give my reply the same prominence and publicity in your next publication."

The Hony. Secretary of the Society, Mr. T. Seenivasagam and the General Manager, Mr. S. Selvaratnam have also associated themselves with the letter sent to us by the President.

The 5-page reply while denying some of the allegations that we carried, leaves other facts uncontested. In fairness to the Society officials SATURDAY REVIEW would like to publish the full text of the reply which we regret we could not do in this issue, for want of space. The Society's reply will therefore be published in full next week along with our own comments. As a newspaper we have no personal stake in the affairs of the Society. We have no wish to indulge in any character assassination of anyone at the helm of affairs in the Society but as an independent newspaper run without any mercenary motives we have a duty to perform, however unpleasant it may be, for the common good.

There was a time when the Co-operative Movement in Jaffna was untouched by politics and was considered as a model for the whole of Asia. We are sure that the vast mass of people would share with us the regret that this image has been tarnished beyond repair over the past several years, towards which tarnishing, we have no doubt the Jaffna District Textile Weavers' Co-operative Society Ltd. had itself made its own contribution.

Even after a perusal of the 5-page explanation sent to us by the Society officials, SATURDAY REVIEW finds no reason to alter the essential thrust of its news item last week that the Society as it finds itself is heading for a collapse. Some remedial action is necessary in order to avert this collapse.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118
4th Cross Street
JAFFNA

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S. Sivanayagam

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Remembering Karl Marx

A public meeting to commemorate the death centenary of Karl Marx, organised by the Marx Centenary Committee, will be held at Saraswathy Hall, Bambalapitiya, Colombo, at 5p.m.

Late S. F. JOSEPH
Sillalai
Died: 12-2-1983



We thank all Priests' Nuns, relations and friends who attended the funeral, offered prayers, sent messages of condolences and helped in numerous ways. A Holy Mass will be offered in his memory on Monday, 14th March, 1983 at the Church of Our Lady of Remedies, Sillalai at 6-00 a. m.

—Children

SPECIAL OFFER

Obituary, Wedding notices and Classified type notices are charged at the special rate of Rs. 10/- per col. cm.

on Monday, 14th March 1983.

Messrs. Bernard Soysa, N. Sanmugathasan and Vasudeva Nanayakkara are billed to speak on 'Marx's Critique of the Capitalist Society', Marx's Theory of the State" and "Marx's Vision of the Future" respectively. Readings, in all three languages, of Engels' graveside oration, will precede the speeches. Prof. Carlo Fonseka will preside.

The meeting is the first in a series of activities planned by the Centenary Committee to commemorate the Centenary Year. A

series of Centenary Lectures, Seminars, Publications and Exhibitions, relating to the Life of Work of Karl Marx are expected to follow the first meeting in Colombo. These will be conducted throughout the Island.

Protest by Journalists

The Sri Lankan Journalists' Movement based in Jaffna which wrote to the President protesting against the humiliation that Thina-karan Editor, Mr. R. Sivagurunathan, underwent at the hands of a Lake House Consultant, has been informed by the Presidential Secretariat that the protest has been forwarded to the Lake House Chairman for necessary action.

That Fort Station Letter Box

The dwarf-size moveable post-box for 'Late Fee' letters at the Fort Railway Station has become the convenient seat for anyone who cares to!

Very often it is used as a seat by a newspaper seller, who reluctantly moves away when someone comes to post a letter.

Cannot that box be placed at an elevation so that

no one can sit over it?

Also the lettering on the box, especially the times at which the mail is cleared, is now worn off.

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Mr. Herman J.C. Perera, President-Trustee of the Law Society of Sri Lanka and a founding father of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka, in a letter circulated among members of the Bar Association, has regretted that the "sturdy independence" for which the Bar of Sri Lanka was well-known both locally and abroad was fast disappearing now (vide 'THE ISLAND' of March 6, 1983).

He has said, "One shirked responsibility when one wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. The Judges of our Courts suffer humiliation sometimes when they deliver independent judgements and are attacked by politicians. In my view, it is the bounden duty of the Bar Association to voice its protests on such occasions."

Very late

Intervention

This statement must give courage to that small band of lawyers and civil rights workers who have been waging a campaign in the past several years to protect the fundamental rights of our people.

My one regret is that Mr. Perera (who was this week elected President of the Bar Association) has sought to intervene at a very late stage, when the independence of the Judiciary has already been severely affected by Government action.

Appointment of Judges

The process began with the commencement of the new Constitution itself, when all the 21 judges of the Supreme Court ceased to hold office. This action affected the tenure of a number of senior judges because only a handful of them were reappointed.

The appointment of judges has been a subject of keen controversy in neighbouring India, where once a Minister in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's previous Government, the late Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam advanced the thesis that the Government of the day had the power to appoint as judges people whose social and political philosophy were in tune with its own philosophy.

Questioning the validity of this thesis, Mr. Justice V.D. Tulzapurkar of the Supreme Court of India said recently:

"Recent experience of having judges with a political background had been quite disturbing. At any rate, this dubious principle should never be invoked for elevating people to the bench as rewards for performances favourable to whatever party be in power, for the country needs judges who are detached from politics and attached to work. It is high time that the present government thinks on those lines

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

and makes appointments purely on considerations of ability and merit."

Fortunately, in Sri Lanka there have been few occasions in recent years to question the suitability of persons appointed to any court. Unfortunately, however, as Mr. Perera has pointed out, there have been occasions when politicians had taken umbrage when judges displayed a sturdy independence.

Not that judges and judgments are beyond criticism. Parliament is in a privileged position in this regard, though the conduct of a judge shall not be discussed except upon a substantive motion.

The Press, too, could criticise, provided it is done with responsibility and decorum.

that it should not be a virulent personal attack on a judge."

"But, subject to that, the administration of justice is not, as Lord Atkin once said, a cloistered virtue, and anybody is entitled to express his honest opinion about it, I have tried for about thirty years to persuade newspapers that this is the law. They will not believe it. They say, 'No. I cannot say that because that is contempt of court.' Member after Member of your Lordships' House has said the same thing.

Newspapers have plenty of good legal advice—lawyers on their own staffs—but they cannot be persuaded about this. One result, unfortunately, is

by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike. The Government promptly rushed through an amendment to the Constitution talking away certain writ powers of the Court of Appeal and vesting them in the Supreme Court and at the same time invalidated the judgment. This action was described by the Opposition as a serious inroad into the independence of the Judiciary. It certainly was.

The resolution to deprive Mrs. Bandaranaike of civic rights was pushed through Parliament while a petition seeking the protection of her fundamental rights was before the Supreme Court. On an Opposition point of order, the Minister of State said that if the Supreme Court held with Mrs. Bandaranaike the Government would rescind

pression, including publication.

The Court had held that what had been done by the Police—the seizure of posters prepared by 'Pavidi Handa' opposing the extension of the life of Parliament through a referendum—was illegal. Then, who gave the illegal order? The Government? If so, how could it be claimed that the Referendum was "free and fair"?

As Mr. Herman J.C. Perera has urged, it is time that the legal profession bestirred itself to ensure that our Judiciary—the last bastion against arbitrary action—is able to withstand political pressures from whatever quarter it may come; to ensure that the UNP's election pledge to "re-establish the independence of the Judiciary" and "free it from political control and interference" is carried out in the letter and spirit.

HOW ABOUT

THE OTHER 28?

While the political parties are preparing for the bye-elections to 20 parliamentary constituencies in May, it is not yet clear whether the Government would go ahead with its plan to increase the number of MPs by 28 to 196—the number stipulated in the Constitution.

Fresh legislation will be needed to put the plan into action. The problem is that the legislation may require endorsement by the people at a referendum, vide the Supreme Court ruling earlier that any increase in the number of MPs will necessarily affect the franchise and in order to protect sovereignty of the people it would be necessary to go back to them.

Or could the Government take up the position that the increased number applies to the "next Parliament", while the Parliament that will function from August is only an extension of that elected in 1977?

My suggestion is that the number of MPs be freezed at the present number. What wonders could 28 more MPs do? The Government could save so much money this way, nearly a million rupees in pay and perks annually.

No Acting President.

For the sixth time, the President is abroad this time to attend the Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi but no acting appointment has been made. The previous visits were to Australia, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, India and England. The operative provision in the Constitution only says that he 'may' appoint the Prime Minister (or in his absence the Speaker) to act for him, not 'shall'.

Judiciary & the govt.

In this connection, I should like to cite two recommendations made in a 1966 report by a joint working party of Justice, body of British Lawyers, and the British Committee of the International Press Institute.

The first is; "Newspapers should regard themselves as free to comment responsibly on sentences between a trial and the hearing of an appeal and should do so in appropriate cases".

The second is; "Newspapers should accept their responsibility as guardians of the proceedings in the courts and if criticism of judges needs to be made they should be prepared to risk the consequences of making it".

Commenting on this recommendation, Lord Gardiner, who was Lord Chancellor, said in the House of Lords: "Numerous noble Lords have commented on the apparent impossibility of persuading newspapers that they are free to comment on the proceedings of courts of justice. The law is not in any doubt. It is a free country. Anybody is entitled to express his honest opinion about a sentence and about the way in which the judge has conducted a case, though it is desirable

that the administration of justice in this country is insufficiently criticised. It is very good for everybody to be criticised. Of course, a man who sentences somebody and finds his sentence is criticised may be annoyed, but, that is a very good thing."

"I entirely agree with the recommendations which Justice makes in these paragraphs, as with its concluding one on contempt of court, which I think has not been read. It is this: 'In the public interest newspapers should devote more continual and serious attention to matters concerning the administration of justice and should employ more experienced reporters and editorial staff for his purpose.'"

Newspapers in Britain and also in India now do occasionally criticise judges on their orders.

Our own Supreme Court, while sentencing a journalist for making some comments on a ruling, accepted the position that criticism was permissible if it was done responsibly.

The first judgment that did not please some of our politicians was that by the Court of Appeal which issued a writ halting the proceedings of the Special Presidential Commission on an application made

the resolution. But the Prime Minister said that "even if the Court upset the report and the recommendations of the Commission, we shall not withdraw the resolution".

There have been number of other instances where the politicians have not been happy with court orders. The Chief Justice himself in a recent letter to the President had referred to cases of "erosion of judicial power through executive action" through he did not specify them.

Then there was the recent Cabinet decision for the Government, to pay the fine of Rs. 10,000 imposed on a Police Superintendent by Supreme Court in a fundamental rights case and also promote him to a higher grade. The Government might claim that the officer was only carrying out orders and that the promotion had been due to him, but lawyers with whom I discussed the decision were clearly perturbed.

This was the first significant case where the Supreme Court, acting under the provisions of Article 126 of the Constitution, had granted relief to a citizen over the violation of a fundamental right, the right of freedom of speech and ex-

Police protection for Journalists' meeting!

What a damn shame! The third annual general meeting and the election of office bearers of the Sri Lanka Working Journalists' Association for 1983 was held at the Moors Islamic Cultural Home in Colombo on March 5 under police protection! Fears that some members might resort to rough tactics to ensure the election of their group to key posts had prompted the organisers to see that the police were on hand.

The meeting was noisy at times, with much shouting but, fortunately, the business was completed without the breaking of any heads, yet, the fact that police assistance had been sought is a sad commentary on the position of journalists and journalism in Sri Lanka today.

Sun frowns on unions

The Association itself is not fully representative of the profession. Many journalists have refused to have anything to do with it for one of two reasons. A section of them is dissatisfied with the manner in which the Association has been formed and with some of those who control its destinies; the other section has been pressurised by their managements to keep away from it.

For instance, from the inception, journalists of the Independent Newspapers Ltd., (Publishers of the 'SUN', 'DAWASA' etc) have not sought membership reportedly because the management more than frowns on any attempt at unionisation by its employees.

Then there are some journalists who would like to become members but appear to be kept out, probably because some office-bearers believe the entry of these persons could be a threat to their positions within the Association.

INAUSPICIOUS START

The Association came into existence on October 9, 1979 at a stormy meeting marked by a walk-out by some senior journalists. In a memo circulated by one of them before the meeting, objection was taken to the fact that the Government-appointed Press Council of Sri Lanka had taken the initiative in forming the Association, that for this purpose it had depended on a group of editors and that sufficient publicity was not given to the moves to form the Association.

It was pointed out in the memo:

"Editors are generally not regarded as 'working journalists' in the formation of journalists' associations or unions because they are more a part of the management. There is thus a basic conflict of interest between Editors and

other journalists because of the role they are expected to play. As far as I can ascertain, Editors have no place in working journalists' associations in countries like Britain and India; they have their own organisations. In India, for instance, there is the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

"In the present case, among the 16 persons whose names appear in the communication as conveners, five are even more than Editors: four of them are Editors-in-Chief while one is Managing Editor!

"The move to form a journalists' association in Sri Lanka should have come from the grass-roots level itself, from the rank and file working journalists, and not appear to be imposed from above, as in the present case, with a Government-appointed body also having a hand in it."

ALL PRE-DETERMINED

The Association itself appeared to have been 'formed' before the inaugural meeting because the Constitution had been adopted by the conveners—it was relevant that no amendments were permitted—while the persons who were to be 'elected' as office-bearers and executive members had already been chosen from among a certain set.

The memo went on to state: "This is the sort of thing that used to happen in Sri Lanka in the past, when some journalists would meet in a press club or bar or tavern and form a press association or union by nominating themselves to the various offices. The public and even working journalists would come to know of the event only the next day when a notice would appear in some newspaper stating that such and such an association or union had been formed with so and so as officebearers!"

Despite the objections, the meeting was held and the first President was the Editor of a Sinhala daily who was also a member of the Press Council!

In the three years of its existence, the Association has made some progress in the improvement of the working conditions of its members but this is only a beginning to what remains to be done.

The biggest failure of the Association is that so far it has not been able to secure incorporation through an Act of Parliament. This is reportedly because

the Government has been given the impression that it has become a Communist-controlled body after a key office-bearer was dethroned from his position!

The Association could still turn out to be a more useful organisation if the membership as well as the executive is

The Media Scene

more democratised. A membership drive is also necessary, to make it truly representative of the profession, for then its effectiveness would be all the greater. Then there should be on problem of securing incorporation.

The office-bearers for 1983 are: President: R. Sivagurunathan (Thinakaran) re-elected Vice-Presidents: Newton Seneviratne (Aththa); Dayasena Gunasinghe (Divaina). Secretary: Tilakaratne Kuruvita Bandara (Dinamina); Treasurer: S. H. A. Careem (Daily Mirror); Assistant Secretaries: Ajith Samaranayake (The Island); S de A. Samarawickreme (Lankadipa), Assistant Treasurers: (uncontested) Sunil C. de Silva (Aththa), Jinadasa Peiris (SLBC).

The following 22-member

committee was also elected: Upali de Silva (Dinamina) N. M. Ameen (Thinakaran), Harry Ubeysena (Janatha), Srimal Abeywardena (CDN), Anton Edward (Virakesari), Bandula Sri Sarachchandra (Silumina), Dharmaratne Wijayasundera (Divaina), Talangama Jayasinghe (Madhura), Premasiri Abeyasinghe (Budusarana), Ajantha Ranasinghe (Dinamina), J. de S. Kellepotha (CDN), Wyman Hettiarachchi (Lankadipa), A. B. Mendis (CDN), A. Solomanraj (Virakesari), Norbert Mawalage (Gnarath radeepaya) G. M. Wickremasinghe (CDN) Bandula Pathmakumara (Kumari) Lloyd R. Devarajah (Daily Mirror), Muditha Kariyakarawana (Sarasaviya), Bundala Hemapala (SLBC) and Bandu S. Kodikara (Vijaya Publications).

As many as 15 of the 31 office-bearers are from the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., while four are from the Times of Ceylon Ltd., three from Upali Newspapers Ltd., and two each from Aththa, Virakesari and the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation.

Suppression Conference.

Some journalists, especially those from the Government media, appear to have enough time to waste. That must be why they rarely protest when they are kept waiting by politicians and bureaucrats.

For instance, the Cabinet briefing on March 2 began

only at 12-40 p. m., 40 minutes behind schedule, because the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Aiwis was late in coming.

If time is precious for politicians and bureaucrats, it must be regarded so also for journalists who, moreover, have deadlines to catch.

The weekly press conference on Wednesdays has itself been described by one journalist as a "Suppression Conference". For, sometimes, the Cabinet spokesman is not free to reveal very important matters discussed by the Council of Ministers. And any newspaper which publishes 'unauthorised' Cabinet News is likely to fall in trouble, under the draconian provisions of the Press Council Law of 1973.

Publication of Cabinet news

Recently, the Editor of "WEEKEND" and its publisher, Independent Newspapers Ltd., were charged in the Chief Magistrate's Court of Colombo with contravening Section 16 (1) of the Press Council Law. They were acquitted after the prosecution withdrew the case on their giving an undertaking that in future they would not publish Cabinet news without the sanction of the Secretary to the Cabinet.

A similar case is pending against the Editor of "THE ISLAND" and Upali Newspapers Ltd.

Parliament to judge 2 Judges

Probably for the first time in Sri Lanka's parliamentary history, a Select Committee has been appointed to inquire into the conduct of two judges of the Supreme Court, Justice D. Wimalaratne and Justice Percy Colin-Thome.

This follows representations made to the President by Mr. K. C. de Alwis, a former judge of the Court of Appeal and a member of the Special Presidential Commission. The Committee headed by the Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali was appointed under Article 107 (2) and (3) of the Constitution.

Article 107 (2) stipulates that every judge shall hold office "during good behaviour and shall not be removed except by an order of the President after an address of Parliament" and Article 107 (3) empowers Parliament to decide on the

investigation procedure.

Earlier, there had been a suggestion that a Special Presidential Commission be appointed for the same purpose, but this was dropped following a protest by the Bar Association of Sri Lanka.

A "Sun" report on February 27 said: "The Bar Council of Sri Lanka at its monthly meeting held yesterday passed without dissent a resolution calling upon the Government not to appoint a Special Presidential Commission to inquire into the conduct of two Supreme Court Judges."

"The resolution, which was moved by Mr. Herman J.C. Perera, Attorney-at-law, stated that such an action would tend to divert the due and orderly administration of Justice in our courts and would create a dangerous precedent and amount to a contempt of the Honourable Supreme Court."

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development speaking in Parliament on Wednesday, March 9th while opening the debate to appoint a Select Committee said that this was the first time in the history of this country that a Judge of the Supreme Court has been brought to task by a brother Judge. The Government believed that no complaint made by a citizen, whether big or small, of an injustice done to him should be ignored, particularly when such a matter was one of public importance.

Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific affairs said that there was nothing wrong in Parliament probing the conduct of Judges.

The motion was passed with 92 members voting for and 16 against.

Centenary of the death of

Karl Marx

The thinker who ceased to think, one hundred years ago, on 14 March 1883, known to the world as Karl Marx, was born on 5 May 1818 in Trier, in Germany, one of four sons and five daughters of Heinrich Marx, a lawyer, and his wife Henriette Pressburg. The eldest son, Moritz—David, died in 1815, soon after he was born. Karl Marx lost two brothers and two sisters, before he was eighteen, all victims of tuberculosis. Otherwise, the family life was happy and harmonious, enjoying a certain middle class prosperity, the father having become a magistrate and begun town a house.

Overlooked his Jewish descent

Karl Marx's ancestors both paternal as well as maternal had been rabbis for many generations, many of them reputed scholars and renowned in the literature of Jewish legal opinions. His "exegesis and talmudism, in sociology" he, no doubt inherited from his forbears. His combativeness was again a common trait among his ancestors. But Marx deliberately overlooked his Jewish descent having grown to maturity in the enlightened culture of his parental home after the conversion of his father and the family to Protestantism. His antipathy towards the Jewish commercial spirit is well known, but what is little known is that a sister of Marx's mother married Lion Philips a Dutch banker and grandfather of the founder of the Philips business; and that until 1870 Karl Marx was in close contact with his Dutch relatives.

For five years Marx attended a Jesuit school in Trier; he was just about average in his class, but, yet, exhibited a certain profundity owing to his environment and his leisure activities. His father, it is recounted, read French classics with him, while his future father-in-law, the Privy Councillor Ludwig Von Westphalen, read Greek poets and Shakespeare with Karl and also introduced the latter to Saint Simon.

Marx was at the University, at Bonn and Berlin, from October 1835 until March 1841. He first studied Law, but his main interests were in philosophy and history. He was fun loving and took an enthusiastic part in student life—with a record of imprisonment for drunkenness, for disturbing the peace and for carrying prohibited weapons. Once he even took part in a duel. It was his juvenile liter-

ary attempts that brought him great distinction.

It was during his university days that Marx wrote his famous letter of confession to his father. Both at school and at the university Marx exhibited symptoms of being a man of general aspirations and not a 'family man' as such. But his relationship with his father, until his death on 10 May 1838, was of the greatest importance to Marx. The death severed Marx's ties with his family, but he kept with him seventeen letters he received from his father and four from his mother and his elder sister Sophie. He also carried for the rest of his life a photograph of his father, which Engels put into his coffin with him.

Bold thinking,

Wealth of ideas

The grounds for conflict between father and son had been the latter's proclivity to high expenditure and his secret engagement, in 1836, to Jenny von Westphalen, who was four years older to Karl. The conflict ended with the death of the father two years later. The marriage contract was eventually signed on 12 June 1843 in Kreuznach.

Marx's interest in philosophy was awakened while at the university in Berlin. He did not acquire his philosophical education in the lecture-room, but in the company of the members of the 'post-graduate club', prominent among whom were Bruno Bauer and Friedrich Koppen. The club represented the philosophical and political *avant-garde* and took a leading part in the young Hegelian movement. Marx's club-mates were ten years old and were more knowledgeable than he, but Marx excelled them in the boldness of his thought, in his wealth of ideas and in a certain vehement activism. He was described as a 'storehouse of ideas, a complete factory and having the brain of a swot'. Engels joined the club a year later than Marx and in the course of describing, in verses, Bruno Bauer's battle against theology and the Church, he introduced his future friend using Edgar Bauer's description of him:

Who comes last, wild and

free?

A black lad from Trier now we see

Grimly he strides, rising on his heel,

Foaming with rage, as if he would steal

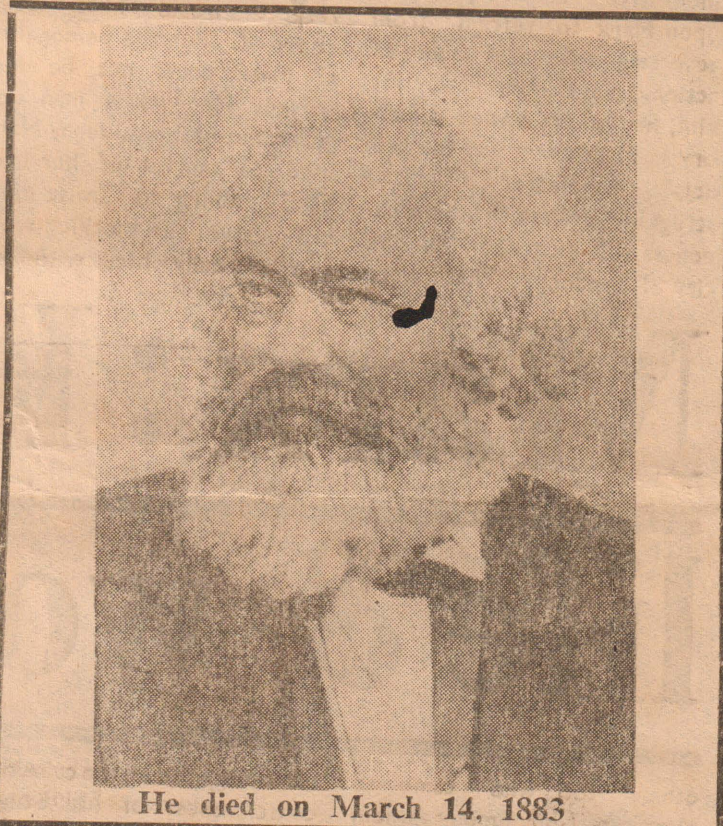
The tent of the sky and drag it to earth,

Stretching his arms high in his mirth,

His fist is clenched, he rages without compare,

As if ten thousand devils had him by the hair.

Intellectual honesty drove him to make a thorough study of communism before saying anything about it, even as he became involved in championing the "impoverished, and politically and socially dispossessed masses". But his stay with the Cologne newspaper was short-lived. He could not for long tolerate the persecution of the German censor: he resigned from his post as editor on 18 March 1843, and said in a



He died on March 14, 1883

During the period as member of the club, Marx preoccupied himself with the philosophical studies and the writing of his Dissertation, which he submitted to the philosophical faculty of Jena on 6 April 1841. He was awarded his doctorate on 15 April.

After his doctorate, Marx did not find a professional chair, but, instead, a platform in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, a newspaper which had appeared in Cologne since 1 January 1842, founded by a group of wealthy liberal citizens. Marx's articles aroused great interest and he became the editor on 15 October 1842. Marx was to later recall that it was during his editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung* that he had to "join in the discussion about so-called material interests" and was caused to be "occupied with economic questions." Even more significant for himself was the discussion about Communism which the newspaper was forced to conduct. Marx's own in-

letter he wrote to a friend: "In Germany there is nothing more I can do. One is simply betraying oneself here."

Marx arrived in Paris in 1843. He was by then close to communism, having formulated it as a logical philosophical development. Paris provided him with the opportunities to study French socialists and revolutionary history and also to meet well-known socialists. One of them to whom he was close for some time was Proudhon, against whose *The Philosophy of Poverty*, Marx, later, wrote one of his pulverising polemics, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Marx occasionally visited meetings of French workmen, and these made a great impression on him. He wrote: "When the communist artisans meet, they seem to be meeting for the purpose of propaganda, etc. But in the process they acquire a new need, the need for society, ... the brotherhood of man is no idle phrase but the real truth, and the nobility

of man shines out at us from these faces brutalized by toil".

Marx had already started, in 1841, his critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, which he continued in Paris, and proceeded to the decisive breakthrough in the critique of politics, and proclaimed, with high moral feeling, the alliance between philosophy and the proletariat, in the emancipation of man. Marx then turned to the study of economics, in his capacity as a philosopher whose ideas centred on revolution and emancipation, for which a valid theoretical basis was required.

'The brotherhood of Man is no idle phrase, but the real Truth'

The life-long alliance between Marx and Friedrich Engels began during the Paris period. Engels was ahead of Marx in the study of economics and the two began to complement each other fruitfully. In 1844 Marx wrote what are known today as the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. These were not actually published until 1932, and their publication "became a decisive event in the history of Marxist scholarship." In these writings Marx shows his attempt to grasp the total situation of Man, from the standpoint of a philosopher, a historian, an economist and a political theorist - all in one.

Marx was expelled from France, in January 1845, at the request of the Prussian Government. The family, now with the addition of a daughter—Jenny, born in 1844—moved to Brussels, where they remained until February 1848. Two more children were born during this period, daughter Laura and son Edgar. This period also saw the beginning of the financial difficulties which were to beset Marx for the rest of his life.

The German Ideology and *A Contribution to the Political Economy* were authored during the Brussels years. But Marx and Engels were now on the verge of plunging into revolutionary practice. Marx had already proclaimed: "The philosophers (Continued on page 6)

(Continued from page 5)
have interpreted the world in different ways; the point is to change it."

Engels' contacts with the League of the Just provided the means to enter political activity. The London Central Committee of the League of the Just which had become converted to Marx's views, and changed its name to the Communist League, commissioned Marx and Engels to prepare a Manifesto for the League. The result was the **Communist Manifesto**, which made its epoch making entrance in 1848, with its "explosive appeal in precise and monumental language".

Expelled from Belgium

Almost at the same time Marx was expelled from Belgium. He arrived in Paris in the wake of the February Revolution (1848) after the new French Government had reversed the earlier expulsion order. Marx then proceeded to Cologne where with Engels and a team of versatile contributors, he launched on 31 May the **New Rheinische Zeitung**, which was subtitled "the Organ of Democracy." It lasted until 18 May 1849 and a total of 301 numbers were published. The newspaper was a lonely outpost of social democracy hitherto unknown in Germany. Besides, "it was a first-class fighting news paper, the best newspaper of that revolutionary year, and had remained the best German Socialist newspaper".

Expelled from Germany

But the growing strength of counter-revolution brought about the eventual termination of the newspaper. What is more, on 15 May 1849, Marx was declared a stateless person and expelled from Germany. Marx and his family arrived in Paris in July 1849; the French government ordered Marx to go and live in Brittany; Marx refused to "allow himself to be buried alive" there, and made his final departure from the Continent, going over to England. He arrived in London at the end of August not knowing that he would spend the rest of his life in the British Isle. It was also the beginning of his experiencing then "wretchedness of existence", as he chose to call it, weighing heavily on him. Illness, continual lack of money and family problems were the main springs of his difficulties, which came not in single spies but in battalions.

From 1849, until his death, Marx was a victim of liver and gall diseases. In 1877 he was afflicted by nervous disorder and in consequence suffered from protracted insomnia. His excessive intellectual work and activity, his inability to switch

off his thoughts (Marx was known to brood and argue with himself, while out on walks) were both the symptom and the cause of his liver complaints. He also became a man of uneven mood, impatient and irritable, with an inclination for cutting arguments, mordant sarcasm, and rude and cruel expressions. After 1855, he contracted catarrh which later led to tuberculosis of the lungs.

His continual lack of money made his sufferings worse. More often than not Marx and his wife were driven to the very verge of despair. At one stage they even decided to declare bankruptcy, break up household, and arrange to live modestly. Engels prevailed upon Marx to refrain from resorting to such a course of action. Engels fortunately for him, his father owned a factory in Manchester was the principal benefactor of Marx struggling against the "wretchedness of existence" in the city of London. There were

and her offspring son Frederick Demuth. Engels stepped in and took over Marx's part and prevented a serious domestic conflict. Marx and his wife would necessarily have been affected by this episode, for neither of them was able to (unlike other Marxists), break away from the norms and values of 'bourgeois morality'. They could not even reconcile themselves to accepting Engels' companion, Mary Burns (who was not legally married to him), as his wife!

The domestic 'embarrassments' and the never ending dependence on the generosity of others, would naturally have weighed heavily on Marx. His self-esteem and self-respect would have been impaired. But the personality of Marx could not be destroyed. He was a man of general aspirations. Jenny Marx used to marvel at her husband's ability to "raise himself above the shocking worries of daily life, with all

new revolution is only possible as the result of a new crisis. But one is as certain as the other".

Amidst all these, Marx with characteristic single mindedness was able to devote time to the study of and writing on contemporary events as well as theoretical matters. In 1852 he concluded the article entitled **The Eighteenth Brumaire** which dealt with Napoleon's Coup d'état, and in which Marx wanted to show "how the class-struggle in France created certain relationships and circumstances which enabled a mediocre and grotesque person to play the part of a hero".

This article would be of interest to anyone who sets out to expose the many mediocre and grotesque persons playing the parts of heroes in the politics of any country and every country. But at the time it was written, it did not bring any material benefit to Marx, whose disappointment was

studied her problems, and by the beginning of the eighties they came to hold the view that the revolution would come from the East (Russia), and not from the West.

On 28 September 1864, the Working Men's International Association was founded at a mass meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London. Marx was among the thirty two members of the Committee that was elected to draw up the statutes. He soon became the "principal brain in the central leadership of the International" which was a conglomeration of people of many persuasions ranging from the peaceful Utopian Socialists to the Anarchists who loved fighting on the barricades. The International gave the workers in different countries the feeling that these destinies were linked together. It produced concrete battle-cries for the political and economic struggle. They paved the way for the Second International founded in 1889.

As for Marx's political activity, he ceased to pay any active part after the Hague Congress of the International in September 1872, but he was not "a dead man" after 1872. After 1870 poverty was no longer in Marx's life, with Engels, now in London, amply providing for him. Maxim Kovalevsky portrays Marx at this time as.

"highly cultivated gentleman of the Anglo-German pattern... with a cheerful disposition and a capacity for witty satire."

Five years ago, 1867, had been published the first volume of his **magnum opus: Capital, A Critique of political Economy**, on which he had been engaged for twenty years. Besides all else the book remains a monument to his scholarship and his devotion to truth. It was left to Engels to publish the remaining two volumes, after Marx's death, in 1885 and 1894. More publications have come out in the subsequent period, all based on the manuscripts left behind by Marx. Four volumes entitled **Theories of Surplus Value** were published by Karl Kautsky between 1905 and 1910, while Moscow published in 1939 **Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy** (the Grundrisse).

Marx had always complained about the "conspiracy of silence" against his books. During his last years he would have been gratified to see that his works were being received in scientific circles, and more significantly to find his name appearing more frequently in the socialist newspapers and becoming more familiar to the workers. He worked as inde-

(Continued next page)

Marx: His life & work

others too who came to Marx's rescue, among whom was his uncle, Philips, in Holland. The inheritances from his mother and those of his wife were all pooled up to make ends meet. But large sums of money received at times swiftly ran through the fingers of Marx and wife, who were not so much bohemian as bourgeois in outlook, and even in putting up false appearances. Marx once wrote to Lassale, "If only I know how to start some kind of business! My dear friend, all theory is dismal, and only business flourishes. Unfortunately I have learnt this too late"

'Bourgeois morality'

Two more daughters were born amidst all the misery of life in London. Francesca was born in 1851, and was shortlived. Four years later Elaeonor was born, while in the same year son Edgar passed away - a victim of tuberculosis. At the beginning of the early sixties Marx almost had to face the possibility of divorce, over his relationship with Helene Demuth (who kept house for the Marx family for years)

his energy, and all the calm, clear consciousness of his being". Marx himself was aware of his ability to be "concerned with the general welfare and ignore his private misfortune". He said, in a letter written in 1842:

"It really is a good thing that public trouble make it impossible for a man of character to be irritated by private affairs"

Involvement in journalism

But unfortunately for Marx, during the early years in London, both he and Engels were at the nadir of their "public effectiveness" too. They were isolated from the rest of German and French refugees in London and lost all contacts with the activists in Germany. Their lack of popularity stemmed from the fact that they publicly admitted, with ruthless honesty that the revolution in Europe could not continue any longer. Marx attributed the European revolution to the English commercial crisis of 1847 and its effects on Europe. The wave of economic prosperity that began in 1849, Marx argued, had paralysed the revolutionary advance in Europe. Said Marx, "A

worsened by the fact that Proudhon was able to receive "Several hundred thousands of francs" for his work on the same subject. Needless to add that Proudhon's work did not outlive its author.

Marx spent a whole decade, from 1851 to 1862, working on contemporary history as a journalist - for the main part as the European correspondent to **The New York Tribune**. Journalism was important to him in that it brought some income, but temperamentally Marx was averse to journalism. He once complained to Engels, "The continual scribbling for the newspapers bores me. It takes up a lot of time Pure scientific work is something completely different."

Nevertheless, his involvement in journalism forced him to study day-to-day politics and events in England and on the international scene. This living view of things, infused Marx's serious writings and his perspectives of revolution in Europe.

When a revolutionary movement got going in Russia, Marx and Engels were quick to revise their views on Russia. They watched with interest events in Russia and

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but for ever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be

Governments hated him but he had no personal enemy : Engels on Marx (1883)

explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was

for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

Fought with passion and tenacity

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which

he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsch-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organisations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bour-

geois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!

(Speech delivered in English by Frederick Engels at Highgate Cemetery, London, on March 17, 1883)

Max Weber on Marx

We have deliberately avoided proving what seems to us far and away the most important instance of the construction of ideal types: namely, Marx. We shall ... only note here that naturally all specifically Marxist 'laws' and developmental structures—in so far as they are theoretically correct—have the character of an ideal type. The pre-eminent, indeed the unique heuristic importance of

these ideal types, if one uses them to make a comparison with reality, and equally the great danger of them as soon as they are represented as being empirically valid or even real (i.e. actually metaphysical) 'operative forces', 'tendencies', etc., is known to anyone who has ever worked with Marxist concept. (Objectivity in Social and Political Knowledge. 1904)

Shaw on DAS KAPITAL

Moreover, twenty-five years ago it was fashionable in English socialist circles to say that one had read Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (a fashion still, as they say, all the rage in Germany among older Social Democrats), and I read the famous first volume of *Das Kapital* too, only to discover that nobody else had, and that it contained not a word about what socialism was. But I consider that Marx was not really an author—either German or any other nationality. He was an anti-bourgeois and his battle cry was, 'Anti-

bourgeois of all countries, unite to fight', which they still do every three years. The world is greatly indebted to Marx for his description of the selfishness and stupidity of that respected middle class so worshipped in Germany and England, and (*Das Kapital*) is one of those books that changes people if they can be persuaded to read it. However, it is the work of a man who was not a member of normal German or English society and who wrote about capitalists and workers like a class-war correspondent. What I owe

Marx: His life and work (contd.)

(Continued from page 6)
pendently as ever, making notes, completing a detailed chronology of world history, studying mathematics, studying Russian, in addition to original writing. But the death of his wife Jenny on 2 December 1881 dealt Marx a severe blow from which he never recovered. His health deteriorated and he himself passed

away two years later.

Marx was not destined to know what a monumental impact his works were to make on the future of humanity for whose total emancipation he strove all his life. When the Zurich Congress of the second International in 1893 gave a wild ovation to Engels, the latter was deeply moved to remark, "If only Marx had

been able to stand beside me and see this—" Even Engels could not have imagined the full extent of the posthumous significance and fame that would befall their revolutionary careers. Ironically for the two, who never believed in life after death, they live in the memories of men—more alive than ever when they were living.

Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud

There are assertions contained in Marx's theory which have struck me as strange: such as that the development of forms of society is a process of natural history, or that the changes in social stratification arise from one another in the manner of a dialectical process. I am far from sure that I understand these assertions aright; nor do they sound to me 'materialistic' but, rather, like a precipitate of obscure Hegelian philosophy in whose school Marx graduated. I do not know how I can shake off my lay opinion that the class structure of society goes back to the struggles which, from

the beginning of history, took place between human hordes only slightly differing from each other. Social distinctions, so I thought, were originally distinctions between clans or races.....

The strength of Marxism clearly lies, not in its view of history or the prophecies of the future that are based on it, but in its sagacious indication of the decisive influence which the economic circumstances of men have upon their intellectual, ethical and artistic attitudes. A number of connections and implications were thus uncovered which had previously been almost totally overlooked. But

it cannot be assumed that economic motives are the only ones that determine the behaviour of human beings in society. The undoubted fact that different individuals, races and nations behave differently under the same economic conditions is alone enough to show that economic motives are not the sole dominating factors. It is altogether incomprehensible how psychological factors can be overlooked where what is in question are the reactions of living human beings.

New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, 1933
Werner Sombart

LETTERS

Violence & Hypocrisy

142, Veluwana Road,
Colombo 9
28-2-83.

The Editor,
Sir,

Though I started late to read SR I have become an avid reader of it. I wish the charming, robust baby 'SR' to continue as a heavy weight challenger to the pundits of local politics and media. The unbiased, candid reporting of 'SR' will no doubt be digested easily by many and grudgingly by few. In time the ultra-rays emitted by 'SR' will definitely penetrate and wean the maligned tissues in our body politic from Dondra to Point Pedro. The Editorials of "SR" in

particular are classic in nature. The Editorial of 26-2-83 titled "VIOLENCE AND HYPOCRISY" is a masterpiece. The superb dissection of the title is luscious but pungent, forthright but factual. Sir, you are really a great sage of the journalistic jungle whose revelations are soul-stirring both to the biased and the unbiased alike.

May you live a thousand years and carry the beacon to expose the Truths which lie smothered and confounded under the heavy-foot of obsessed politics and of oblique journalism of our land.

Yours admirably,
V. Arasanaya gam

Eradicating blood - suckers

"Ghana Vasam"
Vaddu East
Vaddukoddai.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,

My heartiest congratulations to the Editor, S. R. of 26 February, 1983 for the 'View-point, on 'Violence and Hypocrisy'.

When rats infest, cats are reared to exterminate them. The cats are not punctilious about the procedure they adopt. Justice delayed is justice denied.

I recount here my bitter experience with the officials of the Co-operative Department. I wrote to the various officials of that Department from the Commissioner of Co-operative Development downwards about certain malpractices adopted at the Annual General Meeting of the Moolai Co-operative Hospital Society Ltd., held on 29th June, 1980. For seven months they were dumb.

On 22nd March, 1981 I gate-crashed and met the Hon. Minister of Food and Co-operative Development. He was honourable enough to listen, to investigate and to take action. He accepted that there were shortcomings in his officials. However it took him three months to nominate an executive President and two additional Members to the Board of Directors of the Hospital. But by that time the damage had been done.

The Hon'ble Prime Minister is ridiculing in loud sarcastic tones this type of justice meted out to vermin that suck the blood of the common man while his Ministers and his Government officials are unable to take quick remedial

measures to eradicate the blood-suckers.

"Et Tu Brute" shouted Julius Caesar at the dagger-pointing Brutes; but Mark Antony acclaimed him as "the noblest of them all."

Ahimsa is laudable. Can every human being be a Mahatma Gandhi? Our Prime Minister, our Members of Parliament forget that for every action there is a reaction?

Money-hungry, Power-hungry public officials and men in Public beware. We see a new trend in the march of times. For better or worse we see a red light in the horizon. It warns us not to be careless with duty, honesty and justice. It is only duty-conscious, selfless, humane, just officials who can stop this trend. They only can bring a change of heart.

Yours faithfully,
N. Sivagnanam,
B. A., Dip. in Ed.

How does one become J. P.?

14/10, Galpotta Road,
Nawala,
Rajagiriya.
17th February, 1983,

The Editor,
Saturday Review,

Dear Sir,

Will any of your readers please enlighten me as to who should be a Justice of Peace (J.P.) and what are the credentials one should have, to become one?

Yours faithfully,
P. S. L. NATHAN.

Is there any point in talking about Sovereignty?

Jaffna,
28-2-83.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Dear Sir,

Mr. Balasubramaniam has once again quoted Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Q. C. to tell us about the lack of continuity in the sovereignty of the inhabitants of Jaffna—(S. R. of 19th Feb.)

Assuming that there is no legal continuity on this question of sovereignty, how are we to regain it? Under the Civil Procedure Code in the M. C. Jaffna? Or under the Partition Act in the D. C. Jaffna? Or under some other law in the High Court of Colombo? and how many dates have we to face? Or are we going to the Hague? May be on pre-paid tickets.

Namibia in spite of UN patronage and SWAPO, with probably Cuban and Angolan backing, is yet under South African racist rule. The PLO in spite of international recog-

nition, "pious" support by all Arabs and the backing of the Russian SAM, is yet an out-cast.

Jaffna Patam missed the bus when another Q. C. kept repeating "fifty-fifty" so that probably one leg could be in Colombo and the other in Jaffna. Perhaps the nuances of sovereignty were away from his mind when he joined 'DS'.

Sovereignty doesn't seem to have bothered any of the following gentlemen either: Sir Wythilingam Doraisamy, Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva, Messrs. Sittampalam; Suntheralingam; G. G. Ponnampalam; Kumaraswamy; Nalliah; Natesan; Martyn; Thiruchelvam; Arulampalam; Kumarasuriyar; Duralappah; Thiyagarajah; Rajadurai.....And how many of them were known for their words of learned length and thundering sound that amazed the gazing rustics ranged around.

Sometime back when a politician who had first-hand

knowledge of the birth pangs of the Jaffna DDC visited Kilinochchi, grateful DDC members garlanded him. Was it amnesia or one way of saying it with flowers that they are "willing" — willing to forget about sovereignty? Also when another VVIP restored demolished monuments in Jaffna, men seeking martyrdom via the Parliament were there to flatter him. No wonder Sinhalese politicians of Philip's calibre and less have always felt that Tamil leaders could be tackled.

It was Mao Zedong who said that 'political power flows from the barrel of the gun.' Who holds the gun rules the roost. From Manila to Managua and Belfast to Cape Town this is happening. Men like Zia have knocked out elected Parliaments and even the Judiciary is under oath of loyalty to the power of the guns! Do governments signing Universal Declarations and International Covenants observe the Articles?

So is there any point in our talking about the so-called Sovereignty?

Yours faithfully,
Legal Eagle.

The Palmyrah Palm

St. James Community Centre,
Palaly South,
Vayavilan. P. O.
21. 2. 83.

The Editor,

Dear Sir,

The article published in the S. R. of 19/2/83 on "Palmyrah Industry in the 19th Century" written by Mr. A. Theva Rajan was an excellent piece of work.

The Palmyrah Palm is a blessing to the people of South East Asia. It is estimated that there are more than 800 types of benefits that could be obtained from this palm. Our forefathers loved and preserved the palmyrah like their eyes, whereas most of the present generation look down on it as a barbarian (Paddikkadu Tree) and seldom make use of it fully.

Due to the ever increasing building boom, tens of thousands of palmyrahs are being felled down for timber purposes. The law-enforcing agencies do not take sufficient interest to deal with those who cut it down without any sense of responsibility.

The Palmyrah palm must be brought in under the Forest prevention and Protection Ordinance and deterrent punishment should be given to deal with offenders, who fell these trees indiscriminately.

Mr. K. Kanagarajah J.P.,

the Proprietor of Milk White Industries is a shining example in Jaffna, in preserving had promoting tree planting campaigns, specially the Palmyrah. He used to collect around half a million seeds and distribute them. His national undertaking should be commended and every encouragement given to continue his mission.

Yours respectfully,
J.A. Anandan.
Chairman, St. James' Community Centre,

Noise pollution

33, Station Road,
Oakley
Bedford
2-2-83

Dear Sir,

My wife and I spent a most wonderful three week holiday in your country last year. Having corresponded with a Lankan friend for some years and having read a couple of books on Sri Lanka we thought we had some idea of what to expect, but it is one thing to read about a place and quite another to go there.

We were very fortunate in being able for much of our visit to leave the tourist routes and be entertained and escorted by Lankan friends. Luckily, even though the British Raj has been long gone, English as a second language still survives, this is both useful to you if wishing to keep up with the latest developments in the world and for us to be able to speak to a wide variety of your citizen—Sinhalese, Tamils, Moslems, Buddhists, Hindus and Roman

Catholics. All these people and especially their children were warm, friendly and a pleasure to meet.

During our correspondence we had been told of many things, some good others not so good, which we had often believed to be somewhat exaggerated. For example we had been informed that Sri Lankan curries are very hot and we know from experience in England that the hottest are 'Ceylon' curries. Yet we were not prepared for the excellent curry eaten in a Kandy restaurant, so hot it nearly frizzled my beard off!

Another thing which we never believed was the astonishing volume of loudspeakers making such an unpleasant intrusion, even in the middle of the most charming countryside. We had been told many times by letter from my friend how awful they were, but we just could not believe that such a friendly, considerate people would submit their neighbours to such an intolerable racket. Not only does such a decibel level distort the true sound of the music, but it is actually Dangerous to health. Infact in anyone England were to run their equipment at that level and for such long periods of time they would soon find themselves in court.

Modern technology has much to offer, but it must be handled in a responsible way. Yet the worst offenders we found were invariably the religious institutions, ironically the very people one looks to for compassion and consideration for others..

(Continued on Page 10)

Matottam renamed Rajarajapuram, was another Chola stronghold where temples were constructed during the period of Chola rule. Rajaraja-isvaram and Tiruviram isvaram are two institutions about which some details have been recorded in donative inscriptions that have come to light. The first of these was established and endowed by a Chola dignitary, Talikuran, the Utaiyan of Cirukurranallur in Ksatriyasikhamani Valanatu which was a unit of Cholaman-talam. The endowment in the form of a devadana included lands to the east of the street of Rajaraja and to the south of Smith's quarter with the stipulation that the house, mansion and garden belonging to a local resident named Kunran Taman and situated within it were excluded from the grant. The transfer of government revenues to the temple as part of the endowment is of considerable significance.

Pandaviya also called Padi

The grant was made so as to include the dues on looms of weavers collected at the rate of a quarter of an **akkam** per month, tolls levied at pathways, crossings and ferries at the rate of an **akkam** on each back of commodities and market dues on traders levied at the rate of an **akkan** for each **kalaneu** of the total value of goods purchased and sold. From the incomes obtained from this endowment festivals were to be conducted for seven days during the course of **Visakham** in the month of **Vaikaci** (May-June). Besides, sacred meals were to be prepared and offered twice a day with six measures of rice daily and two Brahmins who prepared sacred meals were to be supplied a daily grant of eight measures of paddy. As the epigraph refers to a **matapati** it may be assumed that there was a charitable institution with facilities for pilgrims attached to the temple. As the inscription that records this institution was recovered from Tirukketisvaram it is suggested that the Cholas had erected a new temple at the site of the ancient temple at Matottam and named it as Rajarajesvaram after the Chola king in whose reign the northern part of the island was occupied. Another temple that existed at the city of Matottam, Tiruviram-isvaram, referred to in an inscription of Rajendra I from the same locality. It records an endowment made to this temple by a certain Cirukulatturutaiyan Tevan described as a **panimakan** belonging to the body called **Peruntanam** in the service of the king. The endowment made for the purpose of burning a lamp daily at twilight consisted of four gold coins deposited with three groups of traders who were established, presumably, in the neighbourhood of the

Hinduism in Ceylon-2

Circa A. D. 1000-1250

temple.

One of the towns that rose to prominence during this period and developed soon as a centre of Hindu religious and cultural activity was Padaviya also known as Padi and Padonnagara. The architectural remains of five Hindu temples have been recognized within the excavated portion of this medieval town which was abandoned by the early fourteenth century to be overgrown with and obscured by the jungle. The most prominent among the Hindu temples of Padaviya was Siva Devale No. 1 constructed in reign of Rajaraja I as evident from an inscription of his reign that has been discovered from the

the many epithets of Rajaraja. The inscriptions on the foundation stones of this temple record the names of persons by whom they were laid. Narayanan Tiruccirampalamutaiyan, Varutan Tirumal, Alakan Vattarmarasvayam, Alakan Vattuman, who belonged to the Ayyavole group of merchants and Tani Appan, described as a merchant of Padaviya are specifically mentioned in this connection. The general descriptions of persons involved in the matter would suggest that the Shrine was established with the support of persons belonging to the official and mercantile classes residing in the town. The inscription of Rajaraja while

inscription from Kantalay dated in the reign of the prince Chola Lankesvaratevan testifies that there was a brahmadeya settlement called Rajaraja Caturvedi mankalam Kantalay during the early eleventh century. It is said to have been a unit of Rajendra Chola Valanatu otherwise called Rajaviccattira Valanatu. This brahmadiya, like the ones in South India, had an assembly for the regulation of its affairs as suggested by the expression **perunkuripperumakkal** occurring in the text of the epigraph. The members of the assembly had concerned themselves with an irrigation channel called Vikrama **Cholapperuvakkal** but the precise nature of their undertaking cannot be ascertained as the relevant portion of the text

Ten Kailasam referred to in an inscription of the reign of Vijayabahu as one situated within the brahmadeya of Kantalay may have been constructed during the period of Chola rule. A few fragments of statuary and debris are the only architectural remains of this temple.

Uttamachola-isvaram and Pandita Chola-isvaram are two other Saivite temples whose names have been preserved to posterity by inscriptions. A Tamil inscription at the entrance of a modern Buddhist monastery at Atakada in the Kandavat Korale in the North Central Province dated in the twentieth year of a Chola King whose name is not mentioned in there in records an endowment made by a certain Arankan Iramesan to the temple of Uttamachola - isvaram. The endowment consisted of a **Veli** of land at Kallaiyil Teliyal-perru, one **nonta vilakku**, twenty cows, five **Canti Vilakku** and a plot with fifty coconut palms. Uttama Chola-isvaram, like many other similar monuments, has disappeared without leaving any trace even of its ground plan. There was at Madirigiriya which was renamed as **Nittavinotapuram** after one of the epithets of Rajaraja, a Saivite temple in the eleventh century. It was called Pandita Chola-isvaram after one of the many titles of Rajendra Chola I. An inscription set up in the second year of Rajendra II records the endowment of a lamp by a certain Pi (tan cara) van for the merit of his son
(To be Continued)

by

Dr. S. Pathmanathan

debris of its ruins. The walls and super-structures of this and other Hindu shrines of this locality had collapsed and almost disappeared long before archaeological excavation was undertaken. The Chola inscriptions recovered from the premises of Siva Devale I provide some information about its foundation and arrangements made in connection with ritual and religious services. It was named Iravikulamanikka-isvaram after one of

mentioning the name of the temple records the endowments made by a number of individuals belonging to official, military and mercantile classes. The donations recorded in this epigraph consisted of twelve bronze lamps of two categories, some of gold and a number of cows. Marunkurutaiyam, Palaippakkam Utaiyan and the Nanadesi merchant Konnavil Venkatam were among the principal donors.

The recently discovered

is lost. The epigraph makes mention of a temple of Kali situated within the brahmadeya settlement about which no other information has hitherto surfaced. The general references to the brahmadeya and its activity suggest that it was a moderately sized settlement consisting of a number of brahmin families. As will be seen subsequently this brahmadeya continued to flourish until the end of the Polonnaruwa period. The Saivite temple of

Racialist campaign to oust Tamil High Commissioner

says DAILY TELEGRAPH, LONDON, report of March 1st, 83 by Valerie Elliott.

Allegations are rife in diplomatic circles in London that a highly motivated group of Sri Lankans is attempting to oust from office on racialist grounds Mr. A.T. Moorthy, Sri Lankan High Commissioner.

Mr. Moorthy was appointed in February, 1981, and his two-year posting is shortly to be reviewed. He is a highly regarded and experienced diplomat, and many observers have felt it likely that he would remain in the position for another two-year term.

When Mr. Moorthy was first appointed to the office, the small but vociferous group, the Sinhala Associa-

tion, which represents only about 600 of the 15,000 Sinhalese living in London, complained bitterly to the Sri Lankan government. They claimed that such a high-ranking and prestige diplomatic posting should go to a fellow Sinhalese, and not a Tamil, a group which makes up about 12 per cent, of Sri Lanka's population and which originates from southern India.

It is alleged that a new campaign is being orchestrated to ensure that Mr. Moorthy is recalled to Sri Lanka and that the position might go to a Sinhalese.

To add weight to their campaign the Sinhala Asso-

ciation has suggested that Mr. Moorthy and other Tamil diplomats at the High Commission office in Hyde Park Gardens are indirectly associated with the Marxist separatist Tamil extremists, known as the Tigers, who have been behind a series of murders against establishment figures in northern Sri Lanka in the Jaffna region.

The Tigers' action is to show their determination to eventually create their own Tamil State, Eelam, which would form part of southern India.

Mr. Douglas Wickremaratne Chairman of Sinhalese Association has made this

unlikely innuendo by saying the High Commissioner must be sympathetic to the Tigers' cause because he has never publicly denounced their activities.

The insinuations and smear campaign has become so vicious that a large number of Tamils in London — there are about 30,000 — are pointing the fingers at the deputy High Commissioner, Mr. D.P.R. Rajapaksa, a Sinhalese, and are claiming he has organised the vendetta against Mr. Moorthy in the hope that he could become New High Commissioner.

Kanagaratnam Thuraisingam

An Appreciation

Relaxing in the common room leafing a magazine, I observed, a tall handsome chap, about 20, with sharp eyes walking towards me. I stood up. "I am Thuraisingham, may I know your name please?" said he holding out his hand. This was way back in 1955 when Thurai and I were following a course of studies in Valuation at the Technical college, Maradana. I was in the third year and, Thurai was one year junior to me.

The close friendship which blossomed later between us when both joined the Valuation Department, never did I even imagine was going to terminate soon, when I saw him off at the entrance of the Head office Colombo a few days earlier before his death when he came there in connection with his transfer deferment.

Seen often at the wheel or on a two wheeler, helping one friend or another Thurai, my friend and confidant, surrendered to the will of God while at the wheel helping still another friend in the surroundings of the jungles of Palai on 15-2-83.

Born into a distinguished family and educated at Royal College Colombo, Thuraisingham, son of late Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, one time Auditor General, Ex M.P., Vaddukodai and Junior Minister in the

D. S. Senanayake Cabinet, was a gentleman in the true sense of the word for he was neither humble before the mighty nor mighty before the humble. He was at ease with the highest and made the lowest at ease with him. A motor mechanic in a garage is a friend of Thurai so is a Cabinet Minister. Having had the privilege of playing the role of private secretary to him on many an occasion I have seen Thurai receiving personal letters from important personalities including a Cabinet Minister in the pre-

Maha Sivarathri at Koneswaram

Trincomalee will be a hive of Hindu activity beginning today, Saturday 12th March until Tuesday. Thirukoneswara Temple Paripalana Sabhai headed by its President Mr. M. K. Selvarajah, Attorney-at-Law, has made elaborate arrangements for the observance of Maha Sivarathri at the Koneswara Temple tonight and the town procession of the Koneswaran deity on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

All-night poojas will be held tonight from 6 to 9 p. m., 10 to 12 mid-night, 1 to 3 a. m., and 4 to 6 a. m. There will be devotional music and devotional discourses throughout the night.

High Court Judge Mr. K. Palakidnar will Preside over religious observances.

sent Government.

Fluent in all three languages and blessed with amiable disposition, Thurai found little difficulty in making friends. On the last occasion when he came to Head office I introduced my friend Mr. Karunaratne to him, "Karu I am Off" he said waving his hand when he left. Mr. Karunaratne became Karu to him within a matter of minutes. That was Thurai. A tear involuntarily welled in Mr. Karunaratne's eyes when I broke the news to him about Thurai's tragic death.

Though his presence at home was minimal due to his heavy social activities outside, Thurai was very fond of his family and never shirked his responsibility as husband and father. Dropping his wife (Principal at school and attending to her administrative functions outside school cer-

tainly took prece dance in his program... day. telephone in the Valuation Department, sub office Jaffna seldom rings I am told, ever since he signed off for the day on that fateful day

Whoever thought that he was signing off foreve

May God console his devoted wife, loving daughter and obedient son.

P. C. P. GNANADURAI

C.P. on the Indian issues

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka while welcoming the 7th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in New Delhi has called on the Sri Lankan delegation to associate itself, among other matters, with demands for: (1) holding U.N. conference on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone in Colombo in 1983, (2) dismantling of the U. S. Base at Diego Garcia and the return of the Chagos Peninsula including Diego Garcia to its original owner Mauritius.

In a three-page statement the Communist Party notes: "In the Indian Ocean, the U.S.

is doing everything it can to frustrate the desire of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations that this ocean should be a zone of peace. It continues to sabotage the holding of the U. N's Colombo Conference on the IPOZ, expands its armadas and bases in the region, provokes a new arms race by its reckless rearmament of Pakistan, and has now set up a Central Command and a Rapid Deployment Force to police this ocean which it has arrogantly proclaimed as an area of its "special interests."

Colombo Campus: S.C.M protest

A Letter of protest regarding the issues that led to the current crisis in the Colombo campus has been sent by the Student Christian Movement of Sri Lanka, to President Jayawardene. The letter, signed by A. Rebera on behalf of the Executive Committee of the S.C.M. says:-

"Your Excellency,

The Student Christian Movement of Sri Lanka is a Christian student body committed in terms of its Constitution to serve the needs of students in Universities and in the Collegiate classes of 'High

Schools' in the country. In furtherance of our aims, we have from time to time responded to calls made to us by the wider student movement whenever there was the need to solidary with it in our common pursuit of justice and peace'

We have been made aware

of the demands made by the Students' Council of the University of Colombo to the University Grants Commission on 02-02-83 for redress of their grievances, and have considered their grievances with care and responsibility. It is our considered opinion that the representations they have made to the University authorities against

(i) The levy of fees for a course of lectures at undergraduate level held in the University premises, and

(ii) the admission of officer cadets at the Kotelawela Defence Academy on a discriminatory basis to the University are based on a very reasonable stand against (a) the subtle violation of the principle of Free Education and (b) infringement of the normal merit criteria that operate in regard to University admission, respectively.

We regret both these moves made by the University Grants Commission and urge Your Excellency to intervene in this matter as Executive President and Minister in charge of Higher Education and redress the legitimate grievances of our fellow-students at the University of Colombo.

Jaffna University South Asia Study: Talks

Dr. (Mrs) Dagmar Hellmann - Rajanayagam from West Germany will address the South Asia Study Seminar of the University of Jaffna on 'CULTURAL NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY' at the History Seminar Room on Monday March 14 at 4.15 p.m. Dr. Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam holds a Doctorate from University of Heidelberg, West Germany where she researched on South Asian Studies.

On Wednesday March 16th Prof. John Walter Bicknell will deliver an address at the same venue at the same time on 'HIGHER EDUCATION IN UNITED STATES'.

DEATH

Acknowledgement



VELUPILLAI CHINNIAH
(Retired Post Master)

We thank our friends and relatives who attended the funeral and those who sent us messages of condolence. We regret our inability to thank them individually.

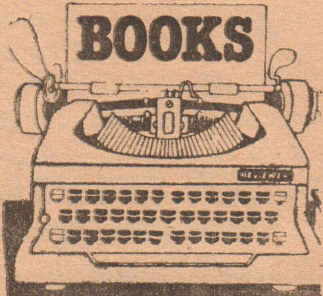
Wife - Mrs. Manonmani Chinniah

Children; Mahendran (Brunei); Dr. Puvanendran (Brunei); Balendran; Mrs. J. Rajendram; Vijayendran; Yogendran (Singapore)

Son-in-law - Dr. T. Rajendram.

Daughters-in-law: Theviyani; Thilaka; Indra; Kamala; Navasakthi.

BOOKS



Marxism and Law

by D. W. Abayakoon

Attorney-at-Law

reality and absolute in point of time, thereby presenting entirely a distorted version of the whole content and form of law itself.

It is a very useful book for anyone to read as it gives a complete different interpretation to the traditional view held on the subject. The writer has effectively shown how law is a necessary feature in any society based on class contradictions and how it becomes superfluous in a society where class divisions have disappeared. The writer has also shown how Marxism is based on certain scientific propositions for the purpose of creating superior forms of human society where the need for law itself exists no longer.

S. Thyagarajah
J.P., M.M.C., Colombo.

This is an excellent effort by the writer (who is a lawyer) to examine LAW from the Marxist point of view. It is perhaps the first instance of a Sri Lankan lawyer writing on the materialist interpretation of law. It deals with the origin of state and law, how they are tied up with private property and the division of people into classes. It also deals with the materialist interpretation of law and finally with the role of law under socialism.

In this effort the author has demonstrated the fact that the law is a superstructure of an economic system and economic facts are independent and antecedent to law. Bourgeoisie theories regard law not as a reflex of an economic substrata but as an ideology in accord with

oned coaches and so forth. While the tourist may bring in much foreign exchange to the average Sri Lankan, these opulent luxuries probably do not seem to bring much benefit. But to turn down your audio systems would cost nothing and undoubtedly benefit everybody.

Yours faithfully
Robin Olney

LETTERS

(Continued from page 8)

'Why make so much fuss about loud speakers?' My readers might reasonably ask. Well, Sri Lanka is not a rich country. Yet much money is spent pleasing foreign visitors with fancy hotels, air condi-

Karl Marx death centenary

Marx in the 20th century

There are two simple and strong arguments put forward by present day Capitalist thinkers against Marx and Marxism. Firstly it is claimed that society of the future as expected by Marxism is devoid of freedom. For example both Friedrich Von Hayke and Milton Friedman, the vigorous defenders of Free Market Capitalist Economy have condemned Marxism and Socialism on this count. In this respect, Friedman's "Capitalism and Freedom" is only a new version of the arguments put forward by Von Hayke in 1940 in his book 'The Road to Serfdom'.

Secondly it is claimed that modern society with its information based new technology has produced an entirely new phenomenon. Hence no longer is the theory of classes valid. It is also claimed that the introduction of New Technologies is not necessarily progressive and the Marxist idea that abundance is the precondition for Socialism, is false. Some sociological schools hold this point of view.

Penetrating vision

Yes, Marx died a century ago and the Capitalist Societies he analysed were at a much less developed state, Capitalism has not developed the democratic freedoms that we enjoy today. Automation and Technology was very much more primitive and the workers were horribly tied to crude machine lines. Today man is capable of miracles; above all he can subjugate nature to his will and can create societies designed to free man from his animal bondage. Does this mean Marxism is outdated? On the contrary re-reading Marx, one could see how Marxism gives

penetrating vision of modern society far clearer than anything offered by the so-called 20th century thinkers

As for the arguments used by those who decry Marxism for 'proposing' an authoritarian society as the future human society, it comes not so much from the concept of dictatorship of the Proletariat but from

intergration of communes formed throughout the country. Such a government will dissolve the centralized state apparatus based on the standing army police and bureaucracy and shall discharge the few, but important functions which still would remain for a central government.

Parliamentary republic

his business.

Those who oppose Marxism on the ground that the automated computerized modern society cannot be analysed by using Marxist categories, usually put forward two arguments. Firstly it is claimed that man's involvement in the production process is no longer related to his labour power.

by

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne

General Secretary, NSSP

the form of government in the Soviet Russia and other 'Communist' countries. However, one part totalitarian state is not what Marx meant by dictatorship of the Proletariat. For him, the Paris commune of 1871 was the nearest expression of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. 'The commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The commune was to be a working and not a parliamentary body executive and legislative at the same time; a National Government to be formed by free

which leads the centralized state apparatus is not genuine democracy. Its selection is elitist and the distant masses have very little power over the representatives and in turn their so-called representatives have very little control over the state apparatus which is really an authority asserting hegemony over society itself. The commune within which was represented all shades of opinion of the working people will change all this. Instead of decoding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to mis-represent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in communes as individual choice serves every employer in the search for the workmen and managers in

In the context of modern technological society, knowledge is the most important item added by the human in the process of production. Knowledge has the peculiar property that it does not get used up. Also it is a social product. Hence, the question of value added is a vastly complicated question.

Secondly, it is claimed that Automation is replacing humans altogether. Apparently, Capitalism can survive without a proletariat. At least with only a single proletarian doing the minimum function of pressing the buttons. Such residual workers will not be tied to a machine. Rather they will be working in groups as new technology craftsmen

Strangely enough, these questions are nothing new.

Trotsky, the brilliant follower of Marx, answered these questions in his book "Results and Prospects", when these were first raised by some of his contemporaries. He showed that it is one thing to estimate the potential of Technological innovations, but it is entirely a different matter to expect the Capitalist System to make full use of it.

Democratic planned Society

He said, "The development of technique undoubtedly finds the ideal limit in a single automatic mechanism which takes rawmaterials from the womb of nature and throws them at the feet of men in the form of finished articles of consumption. If the existence of the Capitalist System were not limited by class relations and the revolutionary struggle that arises from them, we should have some grounds for supporting that technique, approaching the ideal of a single automatic mechanism within the framework of the Capitalist System, would thereby automatically abolish Capitalism".

In other words tendencies that have arisen within the present day industrial society, certainly points us towards a possible future. However, tendencies are still tendencies and these could mature only through a social revolution. Present day Capitalist Industrial Society is unable to digest the technology that it has invented. Human problems arising out of introducing the scientific and technological findings, can be

(Continued on page 12)

Jaffna Cricket: 2 cavalier innings by Sutharsanan

VICTOR KIRUPARAJ writes:

Four more matches were completed last week. Two matches petered out into tame draws, while the remaining two ended in decisive wins.

Jaffna Central's atrocious fielding—grassing dolly catches and misfielding let her down for the second successive time when Hartley forced a draw against them in the annual friendly played on Central grounds, last week end.

Tall scoring featured this encounter as many as 679 runs being hoisted in the four innings in the eleven hours of play.

Jaffna Central who hit up 291 for 9 wickets in the first three hours saw the openers dig in and collect 80 runs for the first wicket. Thereafter 3 quick wickets fell for a further addition of six runs. With cavalier bat V. Sutharsanan entering the fray at this juncture, the game enlivened again. He tore Hartley's bowling to shreds. His pyrotechnics credited him with a grand 73 which included 2 sixers and several boundaries scored in fifty minutes. Opening bats R. Mahinda (51) and S. Mathivathanan (31) were the two others who impressed.

Hartley in reply sat pretty at 70 for 2 wickets but

a sudden collapse saw them fold up for 148.

Central going in a second time with a lead of 71 runs hit up a quick-fire 158 for 2 in a little less than 100 minutes. V. Sutharsanan once again delighted the crowd with a cracker jack but unbeaten 74.

Set with the task of scoring 230 runs in 145 minutes Hartley were 154 for 4 at close. Central's fielding in Hartley's second innings was atrocious. They grassed at least four "dollies" that came their way.

St. Patrick's halted the Johnian run of successes holding them to a drawn game.

The Patricians, batting first, were in dithers losing their first four wickets for but 7 runs. They were five for 48 runs at another stage but a stubborn sixth wicket partnership between Douglas Anandarajah (64) and skipper S. L. Melanius (57) saw the score move up to an encouraging 157. The tail plodded on to take the score up to 195.

The Johnians in reply hoisted 229 for 9 wickets. N. Nishyanthan top scored with 56. Any decision at this stage was nigh impossible. The Patricians declared their second innings at 129 for 6. The Johnians were afforded six overs in which they scored 10 for no loss. Jaffna Hindu registered

her first win when she overwhelmed lowly placed Kokuvil Hindu by an innings in the annual 'friendly' played over the week end. Jaffna Hindu, after amassing 222 for 7 wickets, shot out Kokuvil Hindu twice for meagre scores of 97 and 73 respectively. Jaffna Hindu's T. Anpan wound up the day with the flattering figures of 13 for 88 runs.

Union College too had her moment of glory when she scored a comfortable win over Manipay Hindu. Union College put up 216 and 45 for 1 while Manipay Hindu compiled 107 and 153 respectively the highlight of the match was a breezy 110 by Union's J. Sathiaseelan.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Eelam Literature at Media Centre

Unidentified youths are stated to have distributed Eelam literature at the Media Centre of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference, according to a report from New Delhi. The Media Centre located in the annexe of Vigyan Bhavan, the venue of the Conference catered to over 1300 journalists out of whom over 900 were from foreign countries. This happened despite strong security precautions enforced by Conference officials in the area around Vigyan Bhavan.

Literature had also been distributed to the various leaders of the delegations in the hotels where they were accommodated as well as through the post.

Meanwhile the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress Leader P. Nedumaran has sent an appeal to all the heads of delegations canvassing for observer status to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization at the Conference, citing the parallel of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The venue of the Conference was itself made out of bounds for journalists, and all the proceedings of the Summit were relayed to the Media Centre through 50 closed circuit colour television sets in four

languages, English, French, Spanish and Arabic.

Literature had also been distributed to the various leaders of the delegations in the hotels where they were accommodated as well as through the post.

Meanwhile the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress Leader P. Nedumaran has sent an appeal to all the heads of delegations canvassing for observer status to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization at the Conference, citing the parallel of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

In Madras a procession was taken out in protest on Monday, against Sri Lankan Government policies in respect of the Tamils.

UNPROVOKED ARMY ASSAULT ON ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

An Attorney-at-Law from Valvettiturai, Mr. Kanaga Manoharan was subjected to a brutal assault by Army Men in a passing truck on Friday, 4th of March without any provocation whatsoever.

In making a complaint to the Government Agent, Jaffna, Mr. Devanesan Nesiiah, Mr. Manoharan states that he was returning from the Jaffna Courts on his scooter that evening when at about 4 p.m. close to Urumpirai Hindu College a truck came from behind and overtook him. Suddenly he found himself being hit several times with

the wrong end of a gun and fell off the scooter.

FLASH

S. Selvanayagam and S. Mohanasunderam, two of the three undergraduates in custody, were released from the Gurunagar Army Camp on Friday evening along with their landlord S. Ramasamy. G. Chandrakumar, the 3rd undergraduate, had not been released at the time of going to press. K. Selvarajah, the Polytech student, was released on Thursday evening.

Marx in the 20th century

(Continued from page 11)

solved only within a framework of a democratic, planned society. Such a society can arise only through a social Revolution.

A century after his death

Thus the very questions raised by the modern critics of Marxism only re-assert the validity of Marxism. Marx did not come out

with a series of prophecies and dictums. He only revealed the dialectical and material laws governing the evolution of things and beings. Within these, he indicated the role of human consciousness to be the collective force emerging from matter to remould the maturity of the environment. A century after his death we are re-reading Marx only to find how modern his writings are.

Printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 360, Main Street, Jaffna, for the publishers New Era Publications Ltd., 118, 4th Cross Street, Jaffna on March 12th, 1983. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka under QJ/101

'Tiger' Lobby at New Delhi conference

"SATURDAY REVIEW" has received by post from India a document entitled 'TAMILS FIGHT FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM: STATE TERRORISM IN SRI LANKA', printed under the name of the Political Committee of 'Liberation Tigers' of Tamil Eelam and claimed to have been submitted by them to the 7th Summit Meeting of Non-Aligned Nations being held in New Delhi, India, from March 7th to 15th, 1983. The printed document carries the logo of the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam' with the words in Tamil and English.

The document also incorporates two large sized maps indicating "SINHALA COLONIZATION OF THAMIL EELAM" and the other indicating the presence of the Army, Navy and Air Force in the traditional Tamil areas.

The document traces briefly the historical background and bases the memorandum under the following heads: 1. Dimensions of national oppression; 2. Disenfranchisement of half a million workers; 3. Planned annexation of Tamil lands; 4. Repression on language, employment and education; 5. Economic deprivation; 6. Racial riots and massacre of Tamils; 7. Peaceful campaigns for Federal Autonomy; 8. The demand for secession; 9. Armed resistance and the Tiger Movement; and 10. World's conscience condemns Sri Lanka.

In making an appeal to the World Leaders, the memorandum states:

"Our liberation struggle, as an oppressed nation fighting against the oppressor, constitutes an integral part of the international struggle, the struggle of the revolutionary forces against the forces of reaction, the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism, zionism and racism. Though each liberation struggle has its own historical specificity and its unique conditions, in their essence they articulate a universal historical tendency of the human aspiration for freedom from all systems of oppression and exploitation. In this context, Tamil Eelam national struggle is similar in content to that of the Palestinian struggle or Namibian struggle or

any national struggle of the oppressed people based on their right to national self-determination.

"We therefore appeal to the Government of India, who hosts this Great Forum, and to the Leaders of the Third World to sympathise and support the freedom struggle of the Eelam Tamils in the name of humanity, liberty and justice. We call upon you to condemn the genocidal oppressive policies of the Sri Lankan Government and to recognise our people's right to national self-determination.

"We, the Liberation Tigers, wish to express our support and solidarity to all the revolutionary liberation struggles of the oppressed masses of the world."

Jaffna M.P.C.S: Axe falls on two

The General Manager of the Jaffna MPCs Mr. E. Jesudasan, and the Commercial Manager Mr. R. Sivalingam, have been sent on compulsory leave. Explanations have been sought from them before the 25th March over several charges involving Food Stamps. This decision was taken at the meeting of the Board held on 9th March presided over by the Vice-President, Mr. K. P. Arulanatham in the absence of the President Mr. Alalasunderam, M.P. for Kopay, who is now warding in hospital.

The Asst. Commissioner of Co-operatives, Mr. S. Gnanapragasam was also present at the meeting.

Home-coming!

The newly nominated M.P. for Vaddukoddai, Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, is expected to make his official visit to his constituency when he arrives in Jaffna today.

Campuses boiling over....

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their release and has urged that the University authorities be kept informed when arrests are made. The UTA has also urged the University authorities to take a humane view of the plight of these undergraduate refugees.

Meanwhile the other Universities too remain strike-bound despite the threats and arm-twisting by University Grants Commission Chairman Dr. Stanley Kalpage. Even as Dr. Kalpage announced the cancellation of the registration of strikers and the suspension of their student loans and Mahapola scholarships, the Colombo University strike went into the second week.

A massive Police build-

up and the flexing of muscles also failed to prevent striking undergraduates from holding a huge protest meeting at Hyde Park, Colombo, on Tuesday evening attended by about 10,000 undergrads and members of the public. When the Jaffna Student Assembly President V. S. Sriskandarajah spoke, the Police and Army appeared to be more alert and vigilant. After the meeting the room where Pushpakumara, the President of the Inter University Student Federation was staying, was bombed, presumably by government supporters.

A volcano is about to erupt, say informed sources referring to the simmering campuses.