

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

### OUTCOME

### OF OCTOBER 20

### ELECTION

### TO DECIDE

Vol. 1 No. 37

October 9, 1982

# U.S. ARMS TO SRI LANKA?

A proposal to grant military aid to the Government of Sri Lanka is now before the United States government. The aid could include military hardware, apart from officer training by U.S. military advisers, according to sources close to the decision-making process in Washington.

It is believed that a firm decision will be made once the outcome of the forthcoming Presidential election in Sri Lanka is known.

The initial reaction to the proposal has come from unexpected quarters in the U.S. itself. Representatives of Human Rights organisations have called a general alert on the matter and have questioned U.S. intentions on the proposed grant. They say: Sri Lanka states that the military aid is needed for defense. Defense against whom? Is it against India? China? Local leftist groups of the Sinhalese? Or against the Tamils?

Among the groups mobilising opinion against the proposed arms aid is "AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM" — a Human Rights organisation based in Boston. They are devoted to the values of freedom and equality on which the United States was founded. They are alert

to American involvement in any act that would militate against these values.

The head of the organisation is Dr. Ben Kupelman, a professor at Harvard University whose parents escaped from Nazi Germany. He has an in-built aversion to persecution of minorities. As a popular and efficient educator and a capable consultant on business matters, he has a high degree of acceptance among the U.S. as well as international leaders.

#### LETTER TO

#### REAGAN

In a letter addressed to President Reagan, Professor Kupelman says: "Dear Mr. President, We are deeply perturbed to hear that your administration is considering the grant of military aid to Sri Lanka government. The world is well aware that the Sri Lanka government, which is purely a Sinhalese government is virtually at war with the Tamil nation.

"With the disproportional concentration of political representation in the legislature (156 Sinhalese against 16 Tamil members), and in the armed forces (98% Sinhalese), the Sinhalese are holding the Tamils as virtual slaves. Discrimination has been



President Reagan

rampant in every field of life—education, economic opportunity, land policy etc.

"During the past 32 years since independence, the Tamils have remained within the unitary structure with admirable restraint. Functioning with parlia-

mentary conventions, they have expressed a desire for a dignified life. Their civilized request for a federal structure where they could co-exist with the Sinhalese has been answered in brutal manner by use of the armed forces. Thousands of Tamils have

lost their property, and lives in the hands of the army, police and the Sinhalese thugs.

"Out of sheer desperation, recently, the Tamil youths have opted for violence which has only strengthened the resolve of the government to escalate their policy of repression. It is this resolve that is expressed in the request for additional military supplies.

#### TREMENDOUS

#### INDIAN SUPPORT

"Participation of our country in the suppression of the Tamil demand for freedom is antithetical to the basic concepts on which our forefathers founded this great country of ours. Our international image as the bastion of democracy and freedom is.

"If the Tamils succeed in the establishment of an independent country (which they will because of the tremendous Indian support) with us in the opposite camp, we will have lost our influence in this region. Their new land, with its strategic location may pass into the Russian (or North Korean) camp. But by getting out of this commitment of giving arms to Sri Lanka, US may cause disappointment to Sri Lanka, certainly not gain

(Continued on page 12)



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All future payments to SATURDAY REVIEW by cheques, postal orders etc., should be made out in favour of New Era Publications Ltd.

**Calling our Readers**

Reader demand for SATURDAY REVIEW has been increasingly outstripping advertising revenue over the past several weeks. Newspaper economics however demand that we cannot go on increasing the print order without suffering losses. We are therefore compelled to increase the price of the paper to Rs. 2/50 beginning with this issue.

Readers who have paid in their regular subscriptions will however continue to get their copies at the existing price. As a further concession, we are keeping it open to new subscribers, both local and foreign, to send in their yearly or half-yearly subscriptions on the present rates-UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.



# Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

To many Sri Lankans, the Presidential poll on 20th October may appear to be little more than the usual tussle for power between the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, with a few smaller parties intervening to bedevil the situation. The coming contest, however, is much more significant than that. It is in reality a clash between two different ways of life, two different paths of economic development, two different world views and at the same time an extension of the global rivalry between the big powers.

On one side we have the UNP, which describes itself as a "democratic socialist" party but which is actually capitalist in character. I do not think any reader will quibble with me on this point. The policies followed since 1977 bring this out clearly.

From the inception, the UNP has been dominated by an English educated Western-oriented elite. Behind the UNP are ranged all those classes who admire the Western way of life and the Western model of economic development based on free enterprise.

Understandably, the UNP is backed by all those forces abroad, especially in the West, which would wish Sri Lanka to be ruled by a Party whose interests and objectives dovetailed with theirs.

Inevitably, this heavy dependence on the West, particularly for economic assistance, has resulted in Sri Lanka compromising its nonalignment: there is now a noticeable Westward tilt in our foreign policy.

## Throw-back to 1970-75 policies?

However, those who share the American world view that it is the socialist powers, especially the Soviet Union, which pose a real threat to Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity, are certain to argue that such a policy is very desirable.

President Jayewardene is seeking a fresh mandate from the people to carry on with greater vigour these same domestic and external policies which, he appears to be convinced, would lead Sri Lanka to plenty and prosperity with peace and stability.

Ranged against the UNP are nine parties—I am not referring to the candidates—which are committed to

varying degrees of socialism—the SLFP, the Communist Party (Moscow), the Communist Party (Mao), the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, the Democratic Socialist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Colvin), the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Anil), the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the Nava Sama Samaja Party—and one rightwing party, the Tamil Congress.

by such acts as the replacement of English with Sinhala as the state language, elevation of Buddhism to the virtual position of the state religion, loosening the foreign stranglehold on the economy through nationalisation of a wide range of interests from banks to land and compelling Britain to evacuate its military bases in the island.

leftwing parties listed earlier other than the LSSP (Colvin), the JVP and the NSSP who have fielded their own candidates.

The victory of the SLFP candidate could mean a throw-back in political and economic policies to the 1970-1975 (not 1977) era but with certain refinements, taking into consideration the many socio-economic

I have been doing a lot of travelling lately, from Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa through Kandy down to the south coast towns. I have attended many election rallies and seen the crowds. I have also talked to scores of people. But I would not venture any further than repeat what I said in last week's "Saturday Review" that, according to my assessment, no candidate will receive more than 50 per cent of first preference votes, so that it will be necessary to count the second preferences to determine the winner. This will definitely work to the greater advantage of the main challenger, Mr. Kobbekaduwe than to any other candidate.

# JVP 2nd choice UNP: But SLFP stands to gain on 2nd count

The SLFP has been described by the Marxists as "an alternate capitalist party", representing chiefly the "new entrepreneurial bourgeoisie who were merely seeking to liberate the economy in order to find a place for themselves within the capitalist system." They found that "by its profound anti-UNPism, the SLFP was able to rally the middle strata of the population that felt themselves hemmed in by the UNP from above and the working class below. The interests of these groups were designated 'progressive' in contradiction to the 'reactionary' or 'conservative' policy of the UNP."

The essence of the 1956 polls victory of the SLFP Viplavakara Lanka Sama Samaja Party-Bhasha Peramuna combination, styled the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, has itself been described by Marxist theoreticians as "a shift of political power from the Westernised bourgeoisie into the hands of the national bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie."

In power, the SLFP alone or with Marxist allies has shown itself to be more nationalistic in character than the UNP

The switch to Sinhala, for all its communalist distortions leading to the alienation of the Tamil community, has been acknowledged by some critics of the SLFP having "reflected a basic mass urge for social equality and for undoing the privileges of the English-speaking minority".

In economic affairs, the SLFP is committed to a "mixed economy" in which the public sector plays the lead role in development.

In the past, the pursuit of such a policy led to conflicts with Western interests in Sri Lanka, leading to retaliation by way of aid-stoppages, notably by the United States and Britain. This development compelled the SLFP to look increasingly to the socialist bloc countries, particularly China, for trade and aid, prompting opponents to charge that its foreign policy of nonalignment had degenerated to a "pro-China" stance.

The SLFP Presidential candidate, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe belongs to the leftwing of the party, in contrast to Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, who are regarded as "moderates". He is backed by all the

changes that have taken place since then.

A SLFP victory could also signal a moving away from the West once again, but there are many SLFPers who believe that such a development is desirable in the national interest.

The LSSP, JVP and NSSP, if given a chance would usher in full-blooded socialism almost overnight! I doubt our people are ready for such a drastic transformation just now for the simple reason that they have still to experience life under a rigid rightwing regime. They could be, after another term of UNP rule, for socialism through the ballot is an elusive dream as JVP leader Mr. Rohana Wijeweera put it so forcefully during his revolutionary days!

As for the TC candidate, the objective of his intervention is still not clear to me.

## Rs.50,000 QUESTION

"Whom do you think will win?" is the Rs.50,000 question that has been fired at me by many friends and acquaintances in the past several weeks. How can I say, for I am no political seer.

On paper, however, Mr. Jayewardene looks a certain winner. The pictures of "massive crowds" at UNP rallies appearing in the state-owned and state controlled newspapers are so impressive that there could be no doubt that the masses are with Mr. Jayewardene, as claimed by him. But the crowds—as well as some of the pictures themselves—could be so deceptive!

J. V. P.  
gaining  
steady  
support?

There is reason to believe that the JVP is gaining steady support in many parts of the country because of its efficient grass-roots level organisation. Even in Jaffna, the JVP was able to draw a sizeable gathering for its rally.

But a number of JVPers from whom I asked how they would exercise their second preference vote, replied that they would rather give it to the UNP candidate if at all than to any of the left candidates.

That is politics!



## The Media Scene

"The UNP still has a hold in the North, as proved by the DDC elections where it surprisingly won a couple of seats!—Insider taking "A look at politics"—Ceylon Daily News, October 2, 1982.

Surprising is not the word! Imagine one year and four months have passed since the Ceylon Daily News itself duly reported that the UNP failed to win even a single seat. Now Insider BABA produces a couple of them, in his column. We are sure the UNP cannot be a party to this belated rigging.

"Political observers here commented that the crowd that came to see and listen to President Jayawardene was the

# 'Daily News' columnist 'rigs' two seats for UNP in Jaffna D.D.C.!

biggest crowd that conversed (sic) anywhere in the North to welcome a political leader."

Norton Weerasinghe and M. Selvarajah, Jaffna Group correspondent—Ceylon Daily News, October 4th, 1982.

It only shows that Mr. Norton Weerasinghe had "CONVERSED" with the wrong political observers. For once, our sympathies are entirely with the Printer's Devil.

"And there was a happy augury too. It (Mr. Jayawardene's visit) coincided with the death anniversary of the late [redacted] in Jaffna — "Weekend", October 3, 1982.

The very idea that the poor Mahatma's death anniversary should prove

a happy augury is distressing. But of course, Mr Weerasinghe was guilty of a mix up. October 2 is the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, not the death anniversary.

The fact that few journalists from the so-called "mainstream media" in Sri Lanka attended the panel discussion on "Mass Media and the Presidential Elections" at the Centre for Society and Religion on 30th September speaks volumes for Press Freedom in Sri Lanka.

Journalists even from establishments which call themselves "independent" now appear to be afraid to be seen in situations which would make their owners and/or the authorities regard

them as being "anti-Government"!

One of the panel members kept away at the last moment claiming that he realised he had another engagement on the same day only after he had accepted the invitation. The actual reason could have been that he is one of those old journalists who had been hired recently to write columns and columns in favour of the Government and participation could have earned him the boot!

The panel consisted of Mr. Victor Gunawardena, Mr. Gamini Navaratne and Mr. Ajit Samaranayake. The discussion was led by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya.

One of the common points made by all three speakers was that Mr.

J. R. Jayawardene while in the Opposition, had subscribed to the view that "The Freedom of the Press is the essence of liberty and this is the source of all other liberties. If this freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid". But after assuming power, he had acted contrary to this view, with the Government "misusing" the State Media, as had the previous regime.

While it was conceded during the discussion that after Nomination Day, the radio and television, had begun to behave more impartially, it was noted that the State-owned and controlled newspapers were giving disproportionate publicity to the UNP campaign.

In the very early stages of World War II there was stalemate. The famous cartoonist David Low depicted the stalemate with the Allies within a rectangle with Siegfried fortifications in the north, Maginot fortifications in the south, the sea on the west and Balkans in the east with the remarks that each front was impassable. One of the Allied commanders asked another how do we get out of this, The other replied 'I do not know. But how the hell did we get into this, This in short is the position of youngsters in their late twenties or early thirties who are reasonably technically qualified now working in the Middle East. Like others who work in countries like Nigeria and Zambia, there is no question of settling down in these countries. The Governments do not allow anyone to settle down. Even if the Governments allow our people would not like to settle down due to the harsh climate and other factors. Under these circumstances not only the youngsters technically qualified even others have to address their minds to 'what next'.

Let us take the females who go to the Middle East, first. Most of them are employed in households for domestic work. Some find it lucrative during their off-days to earn by other means. This has brought about such an awkward situation where Governments in the Indian Sub-continent have banned single women going out

## PERSPECTIVES

By

### Nagamuttu

for domestic and other non-skilled work to the Middle East. Most of the females who go out are not career-minded persons—they go out to collect some money for the family with the intention of returning home sooner or later.

It is regarding the males that some thinking is needed. Many go for labour work, while others for skilled and semi-skilled work. A small percentage do technical work—engineers, doctors, bankers, accountants—some are young while others have passed their forties.

Almost all the labour, skilled and semi-skilled workers are employed by contractors. When the contract is over, they either seek employment under another contractor or return home. Some of the Middle East countries have gone almost half way through their building programmes as such there would be some decline in the people employed in due course. Generally people in these groups when they go out know that after a limited period of time they have to return.

In the case of technical personnel those over 40

should have no anxiety because when their contract expires they can get home or to another country. The stay in the Middle East is to collect the money and this is achieved, whether their technical skill is improved or not. They had not gone for a career. But it is a serious matter for those below 40. For these people at this stage of life have to look ahead because even when they amass money by the end of their stay, what is it that they can do next particularly when their stay abroad has not helped to better their technical skill. Take the case of one who has only a bachelor's degree in engineering without any form of experience when he joins a small firm in the Middle East. Working in this firm may not help in his efforts to get his charter. If and when he has to leave the country the stay in the country would not help him to secure a job elsewhere. A critical part of life to gather knowledge has been lost. So this is the vulnerable group of people who have missed their place in their home country as well as abroad.

With little prospect of (a) a career and (b) a very

long stay in the Middle East sooner or later these people have to get back home. On their return what are their chances in fitting into home life again? Most of them are not highly educated and with this new wealth they can create problems in their home surroundings. The writer witnessed this at Bombay Airport when three youths from the Middle East gave handsome tips to the porters. Local Indians expressed their indignation that this lavishness would create problems for the local passengers as they could not afford such big tips. In Kerala recently a retired teacher tried to buy some fish in the market when four were offered for Rs 20/-. He could afford to buy only one and not at Rs 5/- and was bargaining when a youth who had returned from the Middle East bought all the four fish at Rs 20/- without a question. A similar story is told in Jaffna about some fish purchase in Araly.

Such sociological problems could be absorbed gradually if these people could get into the mainstream of life in the country again. In the case of Jaffna youths, those returning, besides building houses for residential purposes and settling old loans could start on some useful projects on experience gathered abroad. The temptation to purchase luxury goods should be within limits. The Ministry of Labour has announced its

intention of helping such people and it is reported that the Bank of Ceylon, Colombo has opened a section for this purpose. In our case perhaps it would be useful to have an organisation to assist these people besides whatever guidance could be had from Government. An organisation like Oortu, Mariamman Lane, Thirunelvely, Jaffna can step in to help. The accent should be on development works which would help them, the community and the country.

Let us take a lesson from history. When the Western powers conquered countries in Asia, Africa and the New World they took their loot home, the most important being gold. While Spaniards used their gold to live in luxury other powers like Great Britain, France and Holland invested in productive ventures multiplying their wealth and developed their countries. We now see the difference between Spain and the other West European countries. Let those who return from the Middle East not fall into the trap in which Spaniards fell. We are a wise community and should feel confident our youths would do the right thing.

If Auvayar were to live now she would add to her famous saying "Amass wealth even by going abroad" the following "Come back and invest wisely".



Ceylon Workers Congress,  
Colombo,  
27th September 1982.

# C. W. C. replies S. R.

"We read with concern, your caustic comment on the stance taken by the Ceylon Workers Congress in regard to the Presidential Elections. (Saturday Review—Viewpoint 18th September 1982).

"You seem unaware of the facts leading to the decision of the C.W.C.

"Foremost, the decision to support the candidature of the present incumbent Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was not a unilateral decision taken by Mr. Thondaman only as leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress but by the National Executive Council of the Organisation which represents the bulk of the membership.

"The executive committee of the CWC, the supreme policy making body of the organisation representing workers from all parts of the country, Galle to Kili-nochchi, Tissamaharama to Trincomalee, Colombo to Batticaloa, made a unanimous decision to support the candidature of Mr. Jayewardene, not blindly but after considerable, considered deliberation and careful analysis and assessment of problems.

"As your readers will be well aware, the CWC is an organisation that was born amidst struggles, nurtured by storms and grown with problems for over forty years and has a fund of experience. It is deeply conscious of its objectives and its responsibilities not only to its own membership and the community that it represents, but to the working class as a whole and to the nation. It has fought for human dignity and justice over a period of time, in the face of great odds and has made many sacrifices in that cause.

"We think that it is also pertinent here to recall that when a censure motion was moved against the Leader of the Opposition Mr. Amirthalingam in Parliament, our President Mr. Thondaman though a member of the Cabinet stood up and made his position categorically clear. As he pointed out and pointed out succinctly, he was speaking on behalf of humanity, righteousness and democracy. He was not afraid to say what was right. Nor was he worried of the consequences.

"Our President did not oppose the motion against Mr. Amirthalingam because he supported the cause of

Eelam, but because he held that Mr. Amirthalingam had a right to express his own views whether others agreed with him or not. It has been our constant position that separation is no solution for the problems of upcountry Tamils.

"In regard to the political wisdom of the CWC leadership we might also mention this. During the D.D.C. elections, we urged the government not to field candidates in the North and East against the TULF. But since the UNP was not agreeable, we declined to participate in their propaganda meetings in these provinces, though we did so in other areas.

we have been condemned to?

"Mr. Thondaman and the Ceylon Workers Congress had co-operated with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party since 1956 till 1964. What did they offer us? In spite of the fact, that the acclaimed leader of the people of Indian origin, Mr. Thondaman was in parliament as a member, the Sirima-Shastri Agreement was drawn up ignoring us, even though we were the people affected by it.

"When they came back to power, in 1970 one of their first tasks was to repeal the amendment to

rights. Since we had no political pull, we were trampled upon. For thirty long years, we languished in the backwoods of political wilderness.

"This embargo was broken only under the leadership of Mr. Jayewardene, who openly expressed that grievous injustice had been done to the plantation workers and the people of Indian origin in every sphere of activity. The invitation he extended to the President of the Ceylon Workers Congress Mr. Thondaman to join his Cabinet was the first material manifestation of that feeling. It was he who gave the persons of

are by no means the final solution to all our multifaceted and multifarious problems. But it has kindled our hopes. For our gains to be consolidated and our hopes to be realised, we need someone who is receptive to our views and who appreciates the enormity of our problems, at the helm of affairs.

"In weighing our options could we juxtapose our relations with the President and that of earlier regimes, when our demands were met with bullets, of the times when the plantation workers raced with dogs to refuse heaps for their food?

"We were made destitutes. The very thought of some of these actions is galling.

"All because we had no vote to exercise and the powers that be, regarded us as drift wood not worth bothering about.

"When this situation has changed would it not be a crime not to exercise the rights we are gaining the slow and hard way and exercise it wisely and judiciously? Or would you wish the CWC to condemn future generations too to a state of eternal political exile and isolation by presently the bogey of occasional violence?

"Or can we blind ourselves to realities and provoke another comment that 'none are so blind as those who refuse to see'."

P. Krishnaswamy

Director of Publications



The signing of the Sirima-Shastri Pact : 'CWC was ignored'

"You have referred to our analysis of 1977 events and our observations about "misguided elements from the SLFP". We would like to point out that there are many reasons for the mounting of communal tensions in the country.

"At every phase of history the CWC takes cognizance of its past experience in the light of the interplay of political forces and monitors the continuous changes that are taking place in the socio-economic and political situation and the shifting conditions.

"Unlike the Tamil community in the North, we in the Central hills and the lowlands have to co-exist with the Sinhala community and co-operate with the forces, who in our thinking will be our best allies. The test of this is which party has done its best for us. Who has realised our difficulties and who has taken meaningful steps to yank us out of the mire that

the Indo-Ceylon Agreement which provided for the granting of Sri Lanka Citizenship on the basis of Indian citizenship granted and not on the basis of the number repatriated.

"You seem to suffer the illusion that the leadership of the CWC "does not remember the past". Nothing could be further from the truth. Our past had been so traumatic, so treacherous and bitter that we cannot forget it, even if we tried. But some others would like us to forget certain chapters of our dark history and remember patches of the period. We do not for a moment deny that we were made victims of the waves of not only pre and post election violence but even the interim ones. The travails of the victims did not end with the violence but continue to haunt them.

"It is our view that at the root of our problems lay the lack of voting

Indian origin, the recognition in the political and national spheres that was so ingloriously denied to them.

"In the five years we have been with the government, our achievements have been many. But they

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(Continued from  
last issue)

What is Marxism?

Who becomes a Marxist?

Why has Marxism enveloped certain countries while it could not make even a dent in other countries?

Why do Marxist parties in certain countries proliferate through the process of splitting as is the case with amoeba and similar microbes while in Russia and even China there is no multiplication of Marxist parties?

The above questions have been framed in the style of a questionnaire posed before the brainstorming—not brain-washing—sessions of a Value Analysis Committee operating in scientifically managed giant business concerns.

To answer these questions one must fall back upon ancient Hindu philosophy according to which three desires drive man to actions which lead to conflicts, displeasure and blood pressure. These desires are best stated in Tamil in the first instance: மண்ணைச், பொண்ணைச், பெண்ணைச்.

The first is the desire for land or territory; the second is the desire for gold; the third is the desire to possess some woman. The desire for land or territory is not land as understood in physical geography; it is the desire to rule or control the people in the lands or territories; it is the desire for Imperial grandeur, to rule others; in short it is the desire to rule. The second viz., the desire for gold is the desire for all riches; the third requires no clarification. All wars recorded in history or mythology have resulted from the pursuit of one or other of these three desires.

#### A Maharishi called Marx

Society has matured to such an extent today that we must seek the epics of Valmiki or Homer for examples of wars fought for the sake of a woman; of course the roll of criminal cases before any Azzize Sessions will furnish ample examples of mini-wars fought for the sake of a woman. But wars fought for the first of these desires, namely the desire to rule and control others is perennial and is bound to continue until some nuclear explosion destroys all mankind from this

planet. The khaki-clad armed personnel of President Junius Richard Jayawardene of Sri Lanka is at the moment engaged in such a war in the North fume-throwing to the winds all preachings of fuel economy.

While Eastern Maharishis sitting cross-legged over foliage-mats in their "Parnasalais" dissected and analysed human nature to find out what caused conflicts, misery, blood-bath as well as blood-pressure, a Maharishi in the West called Karl Marx browsing through the library of the British Museum busied himself in devising a system of a

polity in which those once placed in the seats of power could not be dislodged and others seeking power could reach the seats of power only by toeing the line to those already in the seats of power. In short the system the said Maharishi Karl Marx and a sub-rishi called Lenin devised could be described as a political system for scientific dictatorship. Such a polity is called a Communist State.

The quintessence of the strategy of a political system which will insure against protests, revolts and opposition is to deny the citizen of that state the economic base for independent thinking. Once the individual is deprived of the economic base and is obliged to depend on the State for subsistence, there can be no independent thinking or any possibility of asserting any iota of independence, or expressing any protests or opposition. Those holding power in such a polity are assured of wielding power indefinitely and insured

against revolts, protests and such like demonstrations of disagreements.

Did not Dr. Colvin R de Silva in the plenitude of power for a brief period of course under the shield of a saree—declare that in the socialist State he was fashioning for Sri Lanka the individual can have private property only in toothbrushes and shaving sets? State ownership of all the means of production or at least the commanding heights of the economy—of course ostensibly for the benefit of the toiling proletariat—is the crux of Communism or Scientific dictatorship. The entire writings of Karl Marx and others of the same ilk could be published under the title "A Political System for Scientific Dictatorship". If any of the "intellectuals" require proof for the above averment, they are kindly invited to give their attention to what happens in Poland today.

Another aspect of Marxism is the insistence on

the importance of International Communism: Communism should be world-wide. The raison d'être for this philosophy is simple. Denying the citizen the economic base necessary for giving expression to independent thinking or protests or criticisms does not insure against such disgruntled citizens getting some assistance from abroad notwithstanding every type of regimentation and sealing off the outside world by every imaginable form of controls. If the employment of every technique for insulating the Communist State from the outside world cannot be one hundred per cent effective—and this is not feasible for small countries—then the obvious remedy is to communize the whole world. One does not know which is Mohamed and which is Mountain.

The thesis that Communism in one country cannot be sustained unless other countries are also communized has run into other difficulties. Communist states are not necessarily comradely to each

other. The notion that communism makes every Communist a comrade has got ship-wrecked. Human nature asserts over Communism. The thirst for power driving one Communist State can run counter to the thirst for power driving another Communist State unless the other State is rather small and will have to remain a satellite.

The mistake was made when China was communized; China must have been balkanized before it was communized. But China emerged as one huge Communist State and would not toe the line to Moscow. Perhaps the Bible on International Communism did not lay down the law that a new convert to Communism must be balkanized first before it is communized.

There is no place for two male tuskers in a herd of elephants! If there is only one male tusker, then the whole herd would

This article is in six parts. The writer advances the thesis that a polity or state is organized for the benefit of the people and not the other way about as is the case in Ceylon today—an army of Ministers with an armada of security men and sycophants. The organized State, in order to be effective ought to consist only of people with a common outlook, values and attitude. When such a common "way of life" is absent and groups within the State have widely different values the purpose of the polity is defeated and the State organization becomes counter-productive. He analyses the "way of life", ie. ethos of Sinhala and Tamil peoples in respect of—

(a) the position in society of men of religion and the influence of religion (S. R. 25-9-1982);

(b) the attitudes governing the choice of leaders (S. R. 2-10-1'82);

(c) the response of Marxism;

(d) the attitude in regard to economic organization;

(e) and (f) the practical consequences and developments that would follow the establishment of two sovereign polities in this Island, which contrary to fears of politicians would be very beneficial to both groups.

# EELAM

Good for the Tamils but  
better for the Sinhalese

(also for Uncle Sam and Auntie  
Maggie — 3)



Karl Marx

By **Somasundaram Vanniasingam**

(Continued next page)



(Continued from page 6)

toe the line—each elephant gripping the tail of the elephant walking ahead of it. But the mistake was made and it is now too late to remedy the mistake. World communism is too far out of reach and perhaps it is dangerous. Hence some sort of co-existence with Capitalism is inevitable although the program and activity to subvert the Governments of other countries and make them satellites through a Communist government therein is not given up. This is the essence of Communism which of course lies hidden in a mountain mighty tomes that make up a Library of its own.

#### London School of Economics

Now we should examine how International Communism works, i.e., how the strategy of subverting other countries into the Communist fold is conceived and executed. Obviously a Marxist political party has to be organized in the country. In Ceylon as in many other countries Marxism has been introduced via the London School of Economics.

If one wants to join a political party such as the U.N.P. or the S.L.F.P. one has merely to perfect the application form and tender it with the subscription. The rest of the procedure will be attended to by the Party concerned and the applicant becomes a primary member. The process may be called option and election. But with Marxists the process is quite different. Recruits to the party are initially selected by the party higher-ups without the knowledge of the selectee; he is then indoctrinated in a subtle form and in the process he is screened and his suitability for the Party is adjudged. Then, if he is thought to be a suitable recruit, he goes through a long process of probation or apprenticeship before he gets enrolled.

#### Communist party membership

The constituents of Marxist parties are not known as members; they are called cadres. The word cadre has a different meaning when used in Military parlance and it is in this sense that the word cadre is used in Marxist political organization. It means a nucleus which serves to activate a much larger manpower. The size of the Communist party even in countries where Commun-

ist regimes operate is only a tiny percentage of the total population. The communist thesis is a dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist party. Hence every one of the cadres of the Communist party would—when power is seized by the communist party—become somebody in the hierarchy of the Government or the machine wielding power and authority.

Men with overwhelming thirst to exercise power and authority over others are attracted by the Communist doctrine. They have scant regard for the wishes of others; they regard themselves as the best judges of what is good for others; they have tremendous energy and a will to work very hard; they are generally men with a high degree of intelligence—they are recruited often at Universities or other centres of higher education; they willingly submit themselves to stern discipline because over years the Communist philosophy has become an article of faith with them for aberration, they would subsequently be re-habilitated. It is a joint-stock scheme to exercise unlimited power and control over others.

Anyone with any streak of individualism—and such persons have respect for the individualism of others—has no place in Communism and Communism finds no berth with such persons.

#### Communism and Catholicism

We now reach the third question we posed at the beginning. The Nordic countries are geographically close to Soviet Russia but Communism has not made any dent into those countries: Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It has not made a dent into the countries which are called Anglo-Saxon but it has made some dent into what are called Gallic countries. But Communism in European countries appear to have made a determined effort to chalk out a new line—away from the Orthodox pattern.

In North America, Communism has made no headway. But in South America where the Catholic religion is dominant, Communism has been able to make some headway. There is some paradox: Catholic religion is generally thought to be the best safeguard against communist infiltration but in Europe Italy has the largest Communist following; so is the situation in South America. Communism is least effective in Protestant countries; their

lineage is one of protesting against Church authority—the urge for individualism underlies that attitude. Communism has not made headway in countries where the voluntary co-operative movement is able to take roots. If individualism is a strong element in the national character of the people, Communism does not make headway. It has been observed that Czarist Russia is one where State paternalism prevailed.

Let us look at Ceylon. Although Marxism entered Ceylon via the London University, it had no appeal to the Tamils although there were plenty of cadres to use the Marxist diction. There are some built-in vantage points in the social structure of the Tamil nation: the caste disabilities woven into religion—the untouchability and other such stupidities. But above all Tamils are a subject nation having no say in the Government. Consequently economic difficulties should so to say, provide a fertile soil for Communism.

Nothing further need be said on the exception; the appeal ad misericordiam launched by the wife of the candidate secured the seat.

But in South Ceylon Marxism has made considerable headway although the Sinhalese do not suffer from any handicap in the matter of determining their own Government. The ballot is available to them to change the Government. They have no difficulty in moulding public opinion in Ceylon can be moulded only through the Sinhala medium. There is really no excuse for the Sinhala public to resort to Marxism because it is open to them through the process of the ballot to fashion the Government they want; on the other hands the Tamils are not only denied self-government; the Government is hostile in the extreme.

The Sinhala public have not only warmly embraced Marxist parties with pronounced or tenuous foreign connections; they have ex-

that the dead body of a huge whale was washed ashore somewhere in the South-Western coast. Crowds thronged to see the sight day after day but very soon the powerful stench from the decomposing body called forth protests that the Government had done nothing and there was a serious threat to the health of the community. Bureaucrats as usual sought to pass the baby from department to department and there were even editorial comments. Ultimately some Government Department did the needful with much inconvenience and considerable expense to the Exchequer.

Shortly thereafter the dead body of another whale was washed ashore in the North—just a few miles off Jaffna town. But the dead body of the whale which was washed ashore in the North did not have the good fortune to be on exhibition for long. Before the red tape and routine was overcome the people of the neighbourhood

## Proliferation happens because there is no fear of liquidation

Unemployment—thanks to the denial of self-government—is strongest among the educated Tamil youths. The poor pay in the public service hits the Tamils harder than the Sinhalese because the Tamil public servant is far away from his home and in an alien environment. Further the Tamil cannot look forward for promotion, because he is a Tamil. In spite of all these the Tamils have not chosen to return a Marxist to Parliament all these years despite L.S.S.P. and C.P. at that time championing the mirage of “parity of status”.

The writer does not wish to get into details but it is well known that most of the candidates, the Marxist parties put forward in the North, had pronounced advantages by reason of their social background but all these served no purpose. Over the last forty-eight years of Universal adult franchise in the North and fifty-one years in the East, no Marxist was returned to Parliament; in the editorial columns of the *Saturday Review* reference was made recently to this subject and the one exception, which really proved the rule, was analyzed.

told their indigenous political party which except for “Sinhala only” attachment to Buddhism and the family tree is virtually built on Marxist philosophy; the apex of the party is a politbureau.

The explanation for this differing reaction within a small island in the Indian Ocean has to be found in the pronounced differences in the national character of the two peoples that inhabit the Island. Sir Emerson Tennent noticed in the 19th century that the Tamils are very particular about the fences for their landed property while the Sinhalese take very little interest in fences. In fact a good amount of quarrels, litigation and violence—not excluding murders—have centred round the boundary fence. The Tamil man—and much more the widow—is very particular to have the meum et tuum of their landed property clearly defined. That is undisputable evidence of the strength of individualism among the Tamils.

Sometimes in the forties or the early fifties there were some exciting headlines in the newspapers to the effect

came on the scene with whatever cutting implements they could lay hands on and disposed the dead body into handy pieces, loaded these in their bullock carts, hurried their bullock carts to their coconut lands and buried the booty to fertilize the consols of the East before the Government could take action against them for misappropriating crown property! There were editorial comments contrasting the behaviour of the Tamils and the Sinhalese under similar circumstances. The Tamil is an individualist; he does not look for the “Andukkaraya” when he could do it better. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, peeved by the fact that the high-ups in the Catholic Church pulled out some of their parliamentary group shortly after the first general elections of 1960, decided to wreak vengeance by taking over all the Assisted schools. Of course the Marxists who regarded the S.L.F.P. as the textbook ladder to climb to power, edged the latter to go ahead with this venture. The Assisted schools were the mainstay of the Tamils

(Continued overleaf)



# LETTERS

Tokyo, Japan,  
22nd, September, 1982.

Editor,  
Saturday Review.

Dear Sir,

Your "viewpoint" of September 11th seems to suggest that the Tamil Congress (TC) could well be an alternative to the TULF. Are the Tamils a politically naive people? I hope not. By his Machiavellian moves including his calculated state terrorism, J. R. J. has accomplished at least one thing. He has thoroughly exposed the bankruptcy of the TULF as a political organization. The eminently educated leaders of the TULF have been reduced to a set of political eunuchs stripped of their chest thumping pretences. The TULF promised something it was not capable of giving. Its leaders seized upon the Eelam demand as a slogan to capture the Tamil votes. They posed like dedicated men. All that they wanted from the Tamil voters was a "mandate", which was given. The Tamil voter never stopped to ask himself the simple question: **Are these men capable of winning for me a separate state when they have already failed most miserably to get the much lesser demands of federalism and regional autonomy?**

They have had five years of parliamentary speech making and round table conferences with the President. But to this moment the subject of Eelam was not even on the agenda of the presidential level negotiations. The President sets and defines the terms of

reference at these talks. He has openly stated, loud and clear even for the Tamils in New York to hear, that he would not at any time accept the idea of a traditional homeland for the Tamils of Sri Lanka. So the leaders of the TULF, who were breathing fire during the 1977 election campaign, had to settle for a discussion on more mundane issues of law and order, District Development Councils etc. The "mandate" is occasionally invoked in the parliament and at press conferences. Of course, back in the Tamil areas it is the topic on the platform. Naturally the Tamil man feels deceived and disgusted.

From the TULF's viewpoint the achievements of their talks with the President, who quotes the Dhamma in public but assiduously practices "The Prince" in political life, are the DDC's and Tamil policemen for Tamil areas. What a bargain! The DDC came with a big bang shooting down innocent civilians, setting fire to the public library in Jaffna and letting loose a spate of irregular election procedures unheard of before.

**The Tamil speaking policemen in the final analysis, are a marginal factor in the Tamil areas where state terrorism is a permanent feature. Let us not forget that the Tamil policemen are policemen serving the repressive state.**

While keeping the TULF busy at the negotiating table and giving them the impression of a compromise the President has achieved many things. He divided

the Tamil parliamentary group. He has stepped up the Sinhalization of the Tamil areas. He has separated the Tamil provinces from the rest only to be run by a military regime. He has instituted the Prevention of Terrorism Act which has already started to claim its toll of young lives. The TULF should count all these and the numerous other outrages committed by the government of the president against their so called achievements.

## The Eelam mandate trap

Surely the Tamil people need an alternative. But, what sort of alternative? Do we fall again into a "mandate" trap set by the TC whose credentials are even more suspect? Let us have the courage to admit that the Tamil leaders have made a mockery of the Eelam demand. Their "mandate" does not bother the ruling power so much. If anything disturbs it, it is the extra parliamentary struggle that is on. The spirit of the mandate lies there.

Let us for a moment indulge in a bit of fantasy and imagine the most unlikely 'happening' of the TULF or the TC obtaining a separate state. What kind of a society and economy will they create? I have no doubt that it will be a Tamil version of J. R. Jayawardene's "Dharmista" model, following Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. The Vaddukoddai resolution calling for a "Socialist Secular State" is just a scrap of paper. The Singapore model is quite close to the heart of many a middle class Jaffna Tamil. And, what about some of our compatriots in America who imagine Eelam to be their Israel. The TULF

and TC are political twins in terms of class and action. Their differences are not qualitative. They all represent the same class interests.

The salvation of the Tamil people is completely dependent on the development of a mass struggle oriented radical movement which can forge principled links with the radical movements among the Sinhala people. It must have an anti-imperialist international perspective actively sympathising with the liberation struggles of other

ing if they were to have a better tomorrow. I do not by any means suggest that we should compromise in order to please the Sinhala communists.

It can be predicted without much difficulty that the TC candidate is unlikely to get a "fresh mandate" at the Presidential polls and he will be damaging the cause irreparably. Irrespective of his stated aim, he is objectively playing into the hands of the Sinhala rightists with whom he has been always at home.

I would suspect that even the TULF may not succeed in getting a "fresh mandate" on an islandwide basis, given its dismal performance of the past five years. No sensible Tamil will readily buy the same slogan from the same party for a second time when its past record is so badly disappointing. Let us also remember that the Tamil voter in the South does not feel safe enough to cast his vote in favour of secession. He has been at the receiving end of enormous atrocities already. He knows very well that the present mandate seekers are political opportunists. You seem to have completely written off the Tamils living in the South. This attitude is politically fatal.

Yours faithfully,  
Samudran

Reader SAMUDRAN errs when he says: "Your Viewpoint of September 11th seems to suggest that the Tamil Congress could well be the alternative to the TULF". We merely made a factual observation that the Tamil Congress was succeeding in, suggesting that, which is not the same thing as OUR suggesting it. Editor 'S.R.'

## GUES appeal on estate teaching jobs

The General Union of Eelam Students (GUES) has appealed to the people of the North and East not

to fall into the Government's trap by trying to secure teaching appointments in estate areas.

A press release issued by the Administrative Secretary of GUES, M. Davidson, points out that the Government's stipulation of a three-year residential qualification for eligibility has actually made it possible for outsiders to secure teaching jobs in estate schools, thus leaving qualified hill country Tamils out in the cold.

Accusing the Government of deliberately trying to drive a wedge between the hill country Tamils and the Tamils of the North and East through this tactic, GUES has called upon the Tamil-speaking people to consolidate their unity and carry forward the Eelam liberation struggle.

## Eelam - Good for the Tamils but...

(Continued from page 7)

for education and education was their chief pursuit—not for the sake of learning or knowledge but for the purpose of getting jobs—reacted in their own style in the face of a misfortune over which they had no control. They went in for private tuitions in a big way and today private tuitions have overwhelmed the Government schools.

One of the first tasks of the Government of the Sovereign Tamil State of Eeylom—Eeylom is not far away notwithstanding the fervent pleadings of Mr.

Amirthalingam to the Tamil youths "Thambimaar" to be realistic—would be to recognize the private tuitions for presenting candidates for public qualifying examinations, lay down minimum standards and provide some financial assistance. One must recognize realities: the private tuitions are the actual educational institutions for the Tamils.

The difference in the response of the Sinhalese and the Tamils towards Marxist overtures stems from the difference in the national character of the two peoples.

Now we have to answer the last question we posed at the beginning. Why do Marxist parties split up and proliferate in countries other than a few. In Ceylon we began with the L.S.S.P., then there emerged the C.P. followed by the B.L.P. (I), V.L.S.S.P. and a whole host of Ps; the writer has forgotten count of these Ps although his memory is reasonably good. There is similar proliferation in India and for a matter of that in many countries. But no such proliferation takes place in Soviet Russia or for a

matter of that in any country where the Marxist party has succeeded in seizing the coercive power of the State. In such countries Marxists who dissent from the authoritative Marxism have no chance of proliferation; they have before them only the grim prospect of facing with trepidation the inevitable l-i-q-u-i-d-a-t-i-o-n. What else should be expected from scientific dictatorship?

(Next week;  
Economic organization)



**LETTERS**

Colombo 13.

Editor,  
Saturday Review.

I thank you for publishing in your issue of 18.9.82 my views on your Viewpoint of 4.9.82.

I find that you have also published a comment on my views that I, being seated "in the Colombo 13 corner of the pavilion.. is (am) obviously unable to see much of the game" and that I am "unable to see even the scoreboard from where he (I) sits".

I am writing this not because I want to have the last say but because my comment on your comment might help the readers to see different aspects of the complex problem of the Tamil people, so that they might have a wider and deeper view of the problem, which is what the Fourth Estate should endeavour to do. I do, therefore, hope that you will publish this view of mine on your comment also in your paper....

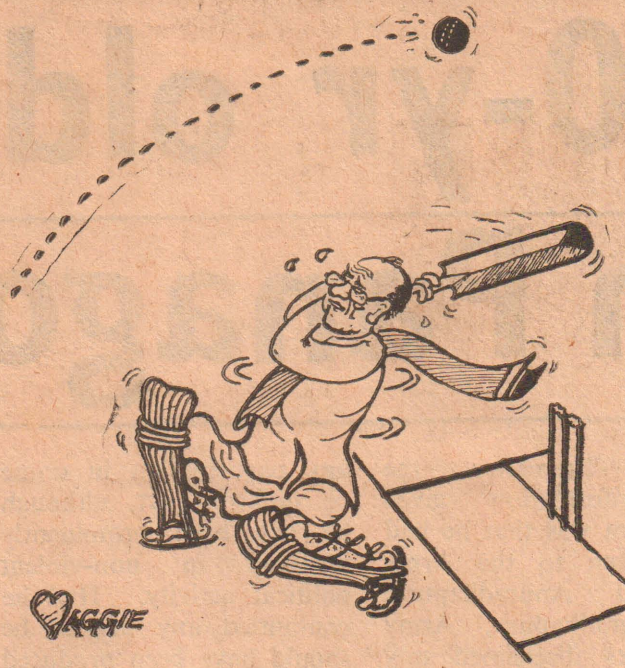
A person who follows the game carefully, intensely and continuously from the start does not need the aid of the scoreboard....

**D. H. de Silva**  
**vs. Sobers**

Further, it must be remembered here, that it is not by the number of runs that a batsman scores that his ability and class is judged but by the way he plays the game under any condition against any type of bowling.

Some years ago, a Commonwealth team, I think, visited Ceylon in which the West Indies cricketers, the great Garfield Sobers, Rohan Kanhai and a few others were also included. Ceylon batsman, D.H.De Silva, the elder brother of D. P. De Silva, who also represented Ceylon, and D. S. De Silva, who is a professional player in England and is currently playing for Ceylon in the Test series against India, was batting at the crease. Sobers was bowling to him one of his overs. D. H. couldn't score a run off that over, looked miserable making all sorts of contortions with his body, bat and pads, in the process even falling prostrate on the pitch, as if he had been floored by a Cassius Clay punch without even connecting the ball! There was a continuous chorus of howling from the spectators asking him to hit out

or to get out. But he played his own game and managed to survive that over. Some persons in the pavilion (and perhaps in the dressing room and in the cricket control Board room) were telling the others how D. H. should have hit each one of the balls—with an on-drive, square cut, hoot and so on, each according to his imagination. I told my friends who were with me that D. H. was facing Sobers very well, though he appeared to be batting like a novice. They laughed at me and said that as I know him a little I was defending him.



match, left the place to get married, came back with his bride and found that the scoreboard had moved by only 7 runs!

It is not by the number of runs scored that a player is judged but by the way in which he plays the game and under what conditions and against what type of bowling that he makes the runs. Players have been praised for not making any runs but for staying at the crease without losing their wickets for the sake of the team.

**"There are causes and reasons"**

We have to understand these also before starting to hoot, barrack or to hurl bottles and stones at the players.

I am not, as you have captioned my letter, writing in defence of Mr. Amirthalingam. What I am trying to do is to show that there are causes and reasons for a person's action under some particular situation and that we should not start throwing stones at him just because he has not used the long handle or employed "agricultural" strokes to hit sixers and boundaries to entertain the spectators. Politics is not a one-day cricket match to keep the score board to move like the taxi meter.

Of course, Mr. Amirthalingam or any other person, we have the right to expect the best out of him and the freedom to egg him to give his best. But we must not confuse egging with nagging and must not club him like Maggie clubbing Jiggs.

Arul

# In defence of slow cricket in Tamil politics!

The next day or the day after, I cannot recollect the exact day, the **Ceylon Daily News** carried a banner headline of eight inch column in its sportspage an interview with the famous West Indian cricketer, Rohan Kanhai, in which he expressed his admiration for the way in which D. H. De Silva faced that particular over from the great all rounder Garfield Sobers and survived. He said that was one of the best overs that Sobers had bowled, each of the six balls being

different and difficult to face.

Such is the finer point of the evaluation of a game and so it is in the case of politics too.

But some of the people who said that D. H. De Silva was making a pathetic display did not want to acknowledge his ability, even after a famous player like Rohan Kanhai had given a fine testimony. Do you know what they said? Would you believe it? Rohan Kanhai must have been drunk when he gave

the interview! There are people like that in the political pavilion too! They will not like their opinions contradicted, even if they are wrong.

There is also another story about judging the game by the scoreboard.

Neville Cardus, who by his excellent reporting and writings on cricket raised cricket writing to a high level of literary standard, says in one of his books how he had been to a

## Colvin is not our candidate, says G. C. S. U. President Sawanadasa

"Colvin is not our candidate", says a Press statement issued by **Mr. G. D. Sawanadasa**, President of the Government Clerical Service Union (GCSU).

Mr. Sawanadasa says:- "Our union decided to launch an agitation to get Com. Colvin R. de Silva as the left candidate based on eight issues concerning the working class, for the Presidential Elections. At this time the NSSP too was engaged in a similar campaign.

"However, on 9th September 1982 at a discussion with trade union delegates in which I also particip-

ated, Com. Colvin R de Silva stated that apart from the reinstatement of July 1980 strikers, he was not willing to take a stand on the other seven issues. When the delegates pointed out that it was essential that our Presidential candidate should stand for the right of self-determination of the Tamil people and the convening of a constituent assembly of delegates from workers councils and peoples councils to frame a Constitution in place of the 1972 and 1978 Constitutions, Com. Colvin R. de Silva stated very clearly that he was not prepared to be bound by such demands. The efforts

of the NSSP in the same direction also failed.

"In these circumstances Com.Colvin R de Silva is neither a left candidate nor a candidate appearing for the eight issues formulated by the trade unions but a candidate self announced as capable, sincere, brave and honest.

"Even in this situation thirteen members of the Executive Committee of the GCSU including the General Secretary have decided to support the candidature of Com. Colvin R. de Silva for the Presidential Election. Ten members of the Committee including myself are against

this decision, while several others stand impartial.

The only left candidate basing himself and his campaign on these issues is Com. Vasudeva Nanyakkara of the NSSP. A vote for Vasu is a vote for our programme. A very large number of our union activists have already endorsed our course of action and declared their full support. We also urge that for the essential task of defeating the UNP it is necessary that every voter who cast his first vote for Com. Vasu shall cast his second preference for the leading anti-UNP candidate while the 3rd preference is also cast anti-UNP."



Why is 20-year old Mudiappu Davidson, General Secretary of the General Union of Eelam Students (G.U.E.S.) who was involved in non-violent political activity detained at Panagoda and tortured? This is the subject of an application for the issue of a Writ of Habeas Corpus made by the elder brother of the detainee Mudiappu Johnson in the Court of Appeal.

Through his lawyer Mr. T. Packiyathan Mr. Johnson has told Court that his brother Davidson was a representative of one of the seven organizations which called for the boycott of the visit of President Jayawardene to Jaffna and the general hartal on the day previous to the visit. The seven organizations printed a pamphlet explaining the reasons for which the boycott and hartal were called for and distributed the pamphlet among the people. The pamphlet was a signed one containing also the name of the printer.

#### He reports at

#### Police Station

On the evening of the 28th September Police Officers attached to the Jaffna Police Station called at Davidson's home and left when informed that he was not at home. On the evening of the 29th they again called but his brother was away. The same evening Davidson went to the Jaffna Police Station along with his Attorney-at-Law Anthony. He was thereupon taken into custody on the ground that the Police wanted to question him regarding the printing of the pamphlet.

#### Brother taken as hostage

Attorney-at-Law Mr. Xavier who saw Davidson on the 30th September at the Jaffna Police Station was informed that no statement had been recorded nor was he questioned. He was told that the Jaffna Police were awaiting instructions from Colombo.

Also at the Police Station there was in custody one **Thayalan** arrested as a hostage in place of his brother **Thayaparan** who was a member of G.U.E.S. as well as the proprietor of the press in which the pamphlets were printed.

At about 4 p.m. the same day Davidson was seen being taken out of the Jaffna Police Station with bleeding injuries to an undisclosed destination by C.I.D. Officers whose identity too was not dis-

# 20-yr old Davidson in Panagoda. Why?

closed. Thereafter the only information given about him was that he had been taken to the Army Camp at Anuradhapura. At Anuradhapura, Army authorities disclaimed any knowledge about the whereabouts of Davidson.

When he went to Colombo he was told by Attorneys-at-Law who had returned from the Army prison at Panagoda that C.I.D. Officers had brought his brother Davidson on 2nd October for detention there. He had been put into Cell No. 1 at Panagoda Prison and was lying there bleeding and in pain due to assault and torture by the Police and Army Officers.

The applicant told Court that his brother Davidson has not been involved in

any participation in crime or unlawful act, although he has been prominently involved in non-violent political activity. Had he committed any offence he should have been produced before a Court of law within 24 hours of his arrest. He averred that his brother who campaigned for a political opinion that is opposed to President Jayawardene is being held in illegal detention.

In supporting Mr. Johnson's application Attorney-at-Law Mr. Packiyathan has stated that he has become aware that many Tamils have been taken into custody and illegally detained by the Police and Army Personnel who are subjecting them to torture, cruel and inhuman treatment in flagrant violation of Articles 11, 12 and 13

of the Constitution and that such violations of the fundamental rights have become possible because the first respondent, Mr. Tikiri Banda Werapitiya, Minister of Internal Security has been issuing without lawful justification reckless detention orders under Section 9 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act with conditions of detention which ostensibly enable the Police and Army Officers to keep the detainees from access to Courts of law or any outside persons at all for periods up to 18 months.

The second and third respondents mentioned in the application are Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, Inspector General of Police and Major-General Weerasinghe, Commander of the Army.

#### Court issues notice

When the Habeas Corpus application was taken up before Justice O.S.M. Seneviratne and Justice H. A. G. de Silva supported by the Senior Counsel for Davidson Mr. V. S. A. Pullenayagam the Court of Appeal issued notice on the three respondents returnable for October 11th. The Panagoda Army Camp authorities were also directed to allow Counsel Messrs. S. C. Chandrasaran and T. Packiyathan to interview the detainee. The Court also directed the J.M.O. Colombo to examine the physical condition of Davidson and report to them.

## Why President J. did not visit Jaffna after the 1981 burning?

"I am constantly asked why I did not come to Jaffna after the rioting, although I visited Ratnapura. The answer is that no one wanted me to come.

"The President, does not visit an electorate unless he is invited by the Member of Parliament. Your elected MPs meet me to discuss your development projects every month, but why cannot they invite me?" he asked.

President Jayawardene at the Chunnakam Market Meeting on October 3, 1982. (Sun: October 4, 1982)

Following are excerpts from the interview given by President Jayawardene to S. Venkat Narayanan, Senior Editor of "India Today" (September 1981).

Q. Whenever there's serious communal trouble in India, either the Prime Minister or one of her senior colleagues rushes to the spot to console the victims and to reassure them. Nothing of the kind seems to be happening here. Are you planning a visit to Ratnapura or Jaffna?

A. I am thinking of doing that. I am trying to go there before leaving for Saudi Arabia next month.



Q. In Jaffna people are very upset. The policemen set fire to the 50-year old library and burnt 97,000 valuable books. They also set fire to a TULF MP's house?

A. That's because they think he is in touch with the terrorists.

Q. It seems they were trying to catch him so they could kill him?

A. Terrorists do that too.

Q. So it's tit for tat? This kind of situation is causing a lot of alienation. Therefore, if you go there and assure them of your concern for their safety, they may feel relieved. It may go a long way to ease the tension.

A. I want to do that but I must find time. I don't want to go with so much security. If something happens, it will be worse.

## Colombo - Jaffna train: The same old story

Remember the hold-up in the Jaffna mail train of 21st of September? Much ink was spilled in the newspapers and high-level discussions were held among authorities regarding security for passengers in the C.G.R. But the story remains the same. A passenger who walked into the "SATURDAY REVIEW" office on the 4th of October reported this incident that

happened in the Jaffna at he train neared the Veyangoda Station. The passengers discovered that the emergency chain was not functioning at all. Meanwhile the robber took to his heels at the Veyangoda Station.

Though it was reported that the Minister of Transport had issued strict orders against vendors getting into the compartments, at Ragama many gram and pineapple vendors got into the train. A gold chain of a woman passenger from Kopay was robbed as

When the passengers wanted to lodge a complaint to the Railway Authorities at that station they were requested by the authorities to make their

complaint at the Jaffna Station, instead as they might delay the train at Veyangoda.

Though the Railway Guards assured the passengers that no vendors would be allowed to board the train during the rest of the journey, more vendors got in at Kurunegala and travelled up to Anuradhapura.



# Candidate J.R's visit to Jaffna

The President's campaign in Jaffna started with lightening suddenness. On Saturday morning the 2nd of October the Jaffna public were pleasantly surprised to see green posters all over the walls with the President's smiling face, announcing the meeting that day at 6 p.m; with some of the youth who had been pasting posters calling for a boycott of the President's visit safely behind bars, the U.N.P. organisers were sure that their posters would be left intact. But despite the intensified patrols of armed forces, by noon many of the green posters were seen smeared with black ink and cow dung.

## Soldiers with sub-machine guns

Meanwhile the Open Air Theatre was being hurriedly decorated with green decoration and coloured fluorescent lights. Two armed policemen were permanently stationed at the site, and they gave heavy protection to the labourers involved in decorating.

An hour before the meeting in the evening all roads leading to the Open Air Theatre were blocked by soldiers armed with submachine guns. There was never a moment when human eyes failed to spot a truck or a jeep full of armed personnel zooming past.

## One had to think twice before.....

In the Open Air Theatre itself the rear entrances were locked and armed policemen were standing behind them. Only the two front entrances were open. Inside, armed policemen planted themselves at key spots in the middle of the crowd. Intelligence personnel in civils too mingled with the audience. Overhead an occasional helicopter rattled across the grounds. Behind the audience on the third floor balcony of the Public Library armed soldiers with binoculars were seen watching the whole proceedings with eagle-eyes. The I.G.P., D.I.G.s and Commanders of the Armed Forces were present, personally supervising the security arrangements.

Under such an atmosphere one had to think twice before talking to his neighbour, or clearing his nose! The nearly 5000 people who had gathered (half of them on the two roads bordering the venue) were very cold and unresponsive; even Colombo lawyer T. Srikanthan's verbose rambling monologue failed to move the audience. Six pairs of hands from the stage were seen painstakingly clapping, in their bold effort to enliven the proceedings!

At 7.20 p.m. the President arrived flanked by his bodyguards who provided a human screen for the President against the crowd. As the President seated himself nervously between Festus Perera and U. B. Wijekoon, the two hefty bodyguards stood on the right forestage, and their bush shirts failed to totally hide protruding objects from their waist.

In his speech, the President quoted statistics to prove how difficult it was for his opponents to win the elections getting the 50% of the votes polled. In a slight note of threat he said "If all of you vote for me, you will provide me with the necessary three or four lakhs. If you don't, I will find it somewhere else!"

## Interpreter led the side down

The President spoke in English which was translated into Tamil by one Dr. Kandiah; but the translator not only failed to capture the nuances of the President's very calculated English prose, but even made so many howlers that the President himself at one point murmured in the mike that it was not what he meant.

# N. U. W. to back S. L. F. P.

The National Union of Workers has decided to support Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa at the Presidential Elections. The decision was taken at a meeting of the Executive Council held at the Hatton Regional Office under the Chairmanship of Mr. T. Aiyadurai, the President of the Union.

General Secretary Mr. P. V. Kandiah in the course of a Press Release states: On an invitation by the General Secretary of the S.L.F.P. Mr. Ratnasiri Wikremanayake the Union represented by Messrs. C. V. Velupillai, T. Aiyadurai, P. V. Kandiah and P. Perumal met Mr. Kobbekaduwa, Mr. Wikremanayake and the Deputy President of the S.L.F.P. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne.

Mr. Kobbekaduwa stressed in the course of the discussions that if he is elected as President he



Mr. Jayawardena at Naga Vihare, Jaffna

On the next day, Sunday the 3rd of October, the President conducted lightening tours to the outlying villages in his helicopter, always flanked by his bodyguards; in some villages the security personnel seemed to outnumber the audience!

In the Chunnakam market about 400 people gathered curiously to look at the figure in white national and green cap. He told those gathered, "Your M.Ps come for help but they don't invite me to their electorates. But I have come myself because of the elections." With the note of a business deal he said, "The

other presidential candidates criticise the I.M.F. It is U.N.P. alone that is friendly with them. We have made arrangements for a loan of one billion rupees from the I.M.F. to develop Mannar and Mullaitivu, so the Tamils should vote for me if they want development."

Landing later at K.K.S. at the bus terminal he addressed 300 people. He quipped "Mr. Amirthalingam and I agree that both of us are wise men. We are friends and get on without any trouble."

Landing next at the Atchuv

vely Central bus halt to address a crowd of 500 people, the President made a series of blunders which enlivened the audience. He said Pathmanathan had been shot at by terrorists, when it was actually his brother-in-law Canagaratnam M.P. for Pottuvil. He referred to the present M.P. Mrs. Pathamanathan as Mr. Canagaratnam's daughter, when she is actually his sister.

He also told at Atchuvally that the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam had great regard for him and had once written to him describing him as the only leader who could save the country. "I am trying to find that letter. If I do, I will publish it before October 20th."

On Monday the 4th of October he spoke at Kili-nochchi. He asked those in the audience who wanted a separate district for Kili-nochchi to raise their hands, most hands went up. When the President asked those who dissented to do the same no hands were raised. Then he said, "It is the President who has the power to grant a separate district. This question will be considered after the election."

With frightening armed security, with visits conducted with baffling quickness, with talks delivered in a note of threat, and in a note of bargain, ended what might be called the President's "SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN" as noted by the servile 'National' Press. As far as the rural gatherings were concerned, it was worth coming all the way to see the helicopters!

would immediately grant the wage increase of Rs. 70/- and Rs. 107/- to plantation workers and appoint up-country youths as teachers in Estate Schools.

The S.L.F.P. delegates also agreed as a matter of policy to pay compensation to people of Indian origin who were victims

of the communal disturbances of 1977, 1981 and 1982.

Listing a series of acts of omission and commission on the part of the UNP the N.U.W. states that the U.N.P. never kept its word on the issue of monthly wages and equal wages to plantation work-

ers. The U.N.P. had also systematically squeezed out the workers of NADSA Estates and denied Food Stamps to plantation workers on the income of Rs. 300/- per month. N.U.W. also alleges that conniving with the C.W.C. the Government has been suppressing the just demands of the working class.

## Defeating the UNP is the immediate task, says Sri Lanka C. P. (Left)

Mr. K. A. Subramaniam, Secretary of the National Preparatory Committee of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) has issued the following statement:-

"The immediate task facing the people of this country at this stage is to defeat the UNP Government. The presidential elections affords the people the

opportunity to carry out this task by acting against the UNP.

"In the present situation, the candidate capable of defeating the UNP nominee is Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, the SLEP candidate. The Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) has therefore decided to support Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa in the forthcoming Presidential elections.

"The party is also of the view that staying away from the elections or boycotting it is objectively to render assistance to the UNP to entrench itself in power. The party therefore calls upon the people to cast their votes to Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and thus help to defeat the UNP Government, the common enemy of the people of this country."



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## U. S. arms to.....

(Continued from page 1)

the enmity of the Sinhalese. Therefore we request you to desist from granting military aid to Sri Lanka. You are well aware that our miscalculations have made enemies in the Far East, the Middle East, in Central and South America. The Indian sub-continent is one place where we still have some fund of goodwill left. Let us not fritter away this precious thing". Thanking you, Most Sincerely,  
BENJAMIN KUPELMAN.

The anti-ARMS TO SRI LANKA LOBBY in the US has also recalled the Congressional Presentation on the Security Assistance Programme for 1980, which said in reference to Sri Lanka: "...Though the Sri Lanka military is not a major factor in domestic

politics, it has a crucial and delicate role in the maintenance of peace and stability in a nation sometimes beset by communal violence".

It is feared however that the proposed arms aid to Sri Lanka is too tempting a proposition from the point of view of the US government because it is tied up with other tangible benefits such as the possible renewal of the offer to the US firm Coastal Corporation to establish the "oil tank farm" in Trincomalee, facilities to use Trincomalee as a "rest. and recreational port" by the US Navy particularly in view of the increasing Russian naval activity in the Indian Ocean and Sri Lanka's lease agreement with VOA for expanded facilities at Kalpitiya.

## Davidson arrest : more protests

The arrest of Davidson, the General Secretary of the General Union of Eelam Students, has unleashed a storm of protest statements in the North. Political parties such as J. V. P. and N. S. S. P. too have condemned the arrest as an anti-democratic act by the Government. The Youth Organization of Tamil Eelam Liberation Front has called for the immediate release of

Davidson.

Non-political organizations such as Human Rights Organization, the Jaffna Parents' Association have also condemned the arrest. Meanwhile Mr. A. Durairajasingham, a member of the Municipal Council, Jaffna, has proposed that the Council should meet immediately and request the President for Davidson's unconditional release.

## Eelaventhan questioned at the airport

Mr. M. K. Eelaventhan, the Organising Secretary of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front who was away from this island for the past three months was questioned by Intelligence personnel at the Bandaranaike International Airport when he landed in Sri Lanka last Tuesday. The passport was taken from him for scrutiny and was later returned.

Mr. Eelaventhan told 'Saturday Review' that he

had spoken to Tamil Youths in West Germany, France, London and America. and had also discussions with representatives of several organisations dealing with Human Rights in all those countries. He also stated that he had spoken to citizens of Mauritius, America and a few other countries regarding the political destiny of the Sri Lankan Tamils, and had been assured of their solidarity.

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# Exams Dept. K.Os Jaffna as I.C.M.A. centre

Jaffna will not be a centre for the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants (ICMA) examination to be held in November 1982. This decision has been taken by the Department of Examinations. This will mean that for the first time in several years, nearly three hundred students who sit the examination in Jaffna will have to travel down to Colombo. The examination which is usually held in three different venues in Jaffna is held twice-yearly.

The Institute of Cost and Management Accountants in London which holds the examination has expressed its helplessness in the matter, because the conducting of the examinations is done by the Department of Examinations of Sri Lanka. The Institute while expressing "regrets" at the inconvenience caused to the Jaffna candidates, states: "If you so wish, we will cancel your entry for the November 1982 examination, and any fees received for that session will be credited to your examination fee account for use at a future session".

## No helicopter for Kobbekaduwa

"SATURDAY REVIEW" learns S.L.F.P. Presidential candidate Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa has been refused the hire of a Sri Lanka Air Force Helicopter for his election campaign in the North. He will now be using a small plane hired from a private organization.

## Vasu in Jaffna on the 12th

Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakara, NLSSP Presidential Candidate will visit Jaffna again this week. He is due to address a number of propaganda meetings on the 12th at the Jaffna Open air Theatre, at the Chunnakam Market Square and at the Vathiry Tamil

Candidates who are sitting the examination from Jaffna told "Saturday Review" that the Department of Examinations has shown a callous disregard in the matter. Many of them who come from non-affluent homes and who have no relations or friends with whom they can put up, have the basic problem of accommodation in Colombo apart from the expense and inconvenience involved.

The train journey to Colombo and back itself frightens them. Several females are among those sitting the examination.

The Government Agent, Jaffna, Mr. Devanesan Nesiiah has now written to the Commissioner of Examinations appealing for a reconsideration on the matter and for retaining Jaffna as a Centre for ICMA Examinations.

## HATTON DECISION ON PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT

A decision to build public opinion against the Prevention of Terrorism Act was made at a seminar held at the Hatton Social Action centre Hall on the 16th September.

Attorneys-at-Law Prins Rajasooriya and R. R. Sivalingam spoke on the historical background of the Act, its implications in terms of Human Rights violations and the practical implications of the Act in the plantation areas.

It was unanimously decided to form a broad-based committee of all groups represented at the seminar to arouse public opinion against the Act.

It was also decided to write to President Jayawardene calling for the withdrawal of the Act, release of all the prisoners and detenus under this Act and to call for the recinding of the sentences passed under this Act. A signature campaign is also

to be launched for this purpose.

A representative gathering of religious leaders, Trade Union Officials and leaders of voluntary groups and plantation workers participated in the seminar.

## Hector in Jaffna on Oct. 12

Hector Kobbekaduwa, the Presidential Candidate of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party will arrive in Palaly Airport, Jaffna, on the tenth of October at 7 a.m. Messrs K. B. Ratnayake and Vijaya Kumaratunge, and Dr. P. Udagama, will accompany him.

Leading personalities from the Ceylon Communist Party, and other Trade Unions will participate in his campaign.

From 8 a.m., to 12 noon he will hold meetings at Kilinochchi, Chavakachchery, Atchuvevely, K.K.S. and Tellipalai. Mr. Kobbekaduwa will also visit the statues of the late Alfred Duraiappah, S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and G. G. Ponnambalam and pay his respects to them. In the late evening he will speak in the public meetings to be held at Chunnakam and in the Open-air Theatre, Jaffna.