

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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T.U.L.F. M.P.s resign in protest

Members of Parliament belonging to the Tamil United Liberation Front will resign their seats in protest against the Government decision to extend the life of Parliament. This was announced by the Secretary General of the Party and Leader

of the Opposition Mr. A. Amirthalingam in Parliament on Thursday.

Meanwhile informed political sources state that talks between the Govt. and the TULF may continue on the question of decentralisation of power at the district level.

REFERENDUM : CAN NORTH AND EAST UPSET THE GOVT. CALCULATIONS ?

There will be a massive voter turn-out in the North and East when the referendum seeking to extend the life of the present Parliament by a further six years is held, political observers forecast. The overwhelming majority of these voters will

place their mark against the pot and give a firm 'no' to the Government's request, they predict.

At the recently concluded Presidential election, the lowest poll was in the North and East. While the national average was

over 80 per cent, in Jaffna only 44.16 per cent cast their votes; in Vanni 59.4 per cent, in Batticaloa 69.6 per cent and in Trincomalee 70.03 per cent.

The Presidential polls slump in the North and East has been sourced by

political observers to the hardline boycott call by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF), the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES) and radical youth organizations. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) ran with the presi-

dential hare and hunted with the boycott hound; it said its stand was 'non-participation' but shied away from the use of the seven letter word "boycott".

The Government's decision to hold a referendum instead of the General Elections appears to have brought together all the warring political groups in the North in a unanimous condemnation of the proposal.

The TULF has condemned the Government's decision outright as has the TELF. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress has gone one step further and demanded that the TULF MPs resign in protest against the Government's moves. Radical youth groups too have come out unequivocally against the Government's side-stepping of the polls.

Political observers think that in marked contrast to the October boycott call, virtually all political groups here will now call upon the voter in the North and East to make it a point to take part in the referendum and make it quite clear to the Government that the General elections should be held on schedule.

These observers expect well over 80 per cent of voters in the North and East to respond to the call to take part in the referendum. Will this affect the Government's calculations materially, is the question now posed.

A heavy poll in the North and East, they point out, would mean the Government will have to get an absolute majority as it did at the Presidential election to carry on for a further six years from August 1983.

Viewpoint

Truth is becoming dangerous !

We do not know whether anyone has noticed this particularly; this country has for some time now been going through an alarming process of self-deception. The hiatus between REALITY and APPEARANCE has been growing wider and wider. What is paraded as Truth does not ring true, and what Truth that shows up does not seem to evoke a two-cent awareness from the vast mass of the people. Are the Sri Lankans hell-bent on becoming a nation of self-deceivers?

Let us illustrate. President Jayawardene who can be amazingly frank about Sri Lanka's problems with non-Sri Lankan visitors told David Selbourne, a Tutor in Politics at Ruskin College, Oxford and a journalist: "We have been able to survive only because of the aid the World Bank is giving. I really don't know what to do about the economy. Nobody knows". Well, if that is REALITY, what of the appearances? The shops are bursting with imported "goodies", there is free travel, generous foreign exchange, and wearing St. Michael's underwear is no longer a luxury for some people. Are the Sri Lankans behaving like people whose President does not know what to do with the economy? No Sir, not a bit.

Let us look at current political happenings. Events are moving so fast in Sri Lanka right now that a future historian might be hard put to accommodate the last three months of 1982 in one chapter! During this period we would have gone through two excellent, unimpeachable DEMOCRATIC exercises: A Presidential election and a nationwide Referendum. Has Britain the Mother of Democracy ever felt this kind of incessant urge to go to the people? That of course is the APPEARANCE. What about the reality?

The reality is the very direct antithesis of Democracy. If the people lack the will and the President has his way, by year end, Sri Lanka would have installed her first POPULARLY-elected dictatorship in thirty five years of freedom and fifty years of franchise.

In a country where no politician bows out of politics on his own, until pushed out by the people, imagine this touching scene. The President tells the solid phalanx of Government M.P.s including Cabinet Ministers and the Prime Minister—very nicely of course—to sign on the dotted line, and they all sign without a murmur undated resignation letters, with a gold Parker pen thoughtfully provided by the Cabinet Secretary, according to a Colombo heavy-weight political columnist. Where do the people come into this very civilised collective suicide agreement? It is only a man like Lee Kuan Yew who could best appreciate the charming finesse with which the whole operation was handled.

Talking of appearance and reality, let us go back to the October 20 Presidential election. The Tamil voter in the North goes and spoils what could otherwise have been a 100% District triumph for President Jayawardene, and the Tamil voter in Batticaloa living in a more mixed district, nearly succeeded in the same pursuit. To any sensible newspaper commentator or government politician, the truth should be staring him in the face. Although left orphaned by their accredited leaders, bereft of a political direction, the Tamil voters in the North and East managed to retain their voting identity from the rest of the country and beamed the message loud and clear; but in four different ways. The boycotters; those who did not wish to boycott for fear of being impersonated and went and deliberately spoilt their votes; those who voted for Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam; and the bulk of those who voted for Mr. Kobbekaduwa in the belief that he had the best chance of defeating Mr. Jayawardene—they all expressed their resentment of the government. They were all expressions of protest. But we find that among the entire gamut of post-mortem dissectors, not one newspaper commentator, not one politician, was able to discern this simple truth. Instead, they engage in various mental gymnastics; they look at the Jaffna voter from every conceivable angle, except look him in the face. Nobody wants to see reality anymore. In this new age of consumerism and imported cosmetics, the appearance is what matters.

Winston Churchill is reputed to have coined this dictum during war days: "In war, the truth is so important that it must be protected by a bodyguard of lies". In Sri Lanka today, the truth is so **dangerous** that the same course becomes necessary. Gentlemen of the Mass Media, you are the protectors!

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

SUSPENDED FOR RAGGING

Six students of the University of Jaffna who were involved in ragging have been suspended.

No. 118,
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Editor

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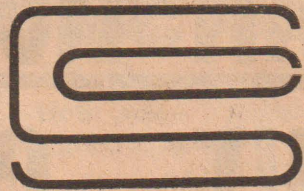
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NEWS BRIFES

POLICE LEAFLETS BY HELICOPTER

Thousands of printed leaflets were dropped by helicopter last Thursday (28.10.82) in the Jaffna peninsula by the Police; the leaflet called on the public of Jaffna to inform Police of any attempt by anyone to dispose of bodies of persons killed or of weapons looted during the recent attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station.

The leaflet carries the name of Mr. W. B. Rajaguru, D. I. G. (North) as the issuing authority but does not however carry the name of the printer!

Rs. 2½ LAKHS TO INFORMERS

The Jaffna Police have announced a reward of Rs. 2½ lakhs to anyone giving information regarding the recent attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station.

TRAIN DISASTER AVERTED

A train accident on the Colombo - Kankesanthurai line was averted by the timely action of a passenger. The Jaffna bound Yal Devi (on 31st morning) while running between Alawwa and Polgahawela was suddenly found to be furiously jolting. Failing attempts to stop the train by pulling the chord, a passenger brought the matter to the notice of the engine driver and subsequently the train was halted. It was found that 400 sleepers had been loosened in order to derail the train.

DEATH ON WAY TO FUNERAL CEREMONY

A youth, Appulingam Manoharan (23) was killed on the spot and another, S. Selvarajah (22) sustained serious injuries when a palmyrah tree crashed on them due to a strong wind. This incident took place at Thirunelvely about a week back, when the two young men were about to board a van which was to carry them to Keerimalai to participate in the third day ceremony of the death of a relation of theirs.

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SIEDLES CINERADIO

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On Tuesday, November 2nd, 1982 the TULF Member of Parliament for Vaddukkoddai, Mr. Selvarajah Yogachandran (popularly known as 'KUTTIMANI') was taken before the High Court Judge of Colombo Mr. E. L. T. Moonemalle in connection with the Neervely Bank Robbery along with four other accused. The provincial editions of the 'Ceylon Daily News' of November 3rd, and the 'Sun' of the same date have blacked out the entire proceedings. 'The Island' which shows more sensitivity and a little independence carries a photograph of Mr. Yogachandran being led to Court (significantly without handcuffs along with Jegan) but carries no report on the proceedings themselves.

All the Colombo Tamil papers however give Page 1 prominence to the



Kuttimani

A photograph taken when he was clean-shaven, now he grows a moustache again in Death Row.

Court proceedings. All five accused refused to plead guilty or not guilty. To a question by Court, they made the following statement in Tamil: "We are all subjects of Tamil Eelam. The Government of Sri Lanka and this Court functioning under its jurisdiction has no right to inquire into these alleged incidents that happened on Tamil soil.

A Sri Lankan court cannot try us, says Vaddu. M.P.

For these reasons we have nothing to state before this Court."

Deputy Solicitor General Sunil de Silva submitted to Court that proceedings be continued on the basis that the accused by their refusal to give affirmative or negative answers are deemed to have pleaded guilty.

Mr. N. Satyendra who appeared on behalf of the

accused objected to the submission by the Crown. He maintained that this Court had no jurisdiction to hear this case. The accused in this case, he said owed no allegiance to the Sri Lanka Government; they belonged to a separate nation.

To the question raised by Deputy Solicitor General that Mr. Yogachandran has been

nominated as a Member of Parliament under the same constitutional framework, Mr. Satyendra said, "Well, it is true that Mr. Yogachandran has been nominated as an M.P. but your own Government refuses to permit him to take his oath in Parliament". The Judge put off for the following day (Wednesday) his ruling on the matter.

U.S. thinking on the role of the military in Sri Lanka

Mr. Manik Sandrasagara of Colombo 5 sends us a photo copy of an article written by him in June 1981 which backs up the 'Saturday Review' page 1 lead story of October 9th 1982 headlined "U.S. ARMS TO SRI LANKA?"

Mr. Sandrasagara says that he submitted this for publication at that time to a leading journal which turned it down. The independent 'Lanka Guardian' of July 1st, 1981 did use this, but we take this opportunity to place Mr. Sandrasagara's article before our readers because it helps to furnish renewed insight into U.S. Military thinking on Sri Lanka — Editor, 'SATURDAY REVIEW'

I.M.E.T. is the sole American Security Assistance Programme in Sri Lanka, and according to the Congressional Presentation on the Security Assistance Programme for 1980, it is stated that the purpose of the I.M.E.T. Programme is "to encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of international peace and security; second, to improve the ability of

participating foreign countries to use their resources, including defence articles and services obtained by them from the United States, with maximum effectiveness". In Page 17 of the report foreign governments are "encouraged" to purchase technical and material-related training to pay the cost of transportation and living allowances. The purpose of this grant, the proposal says, is for developing leadership and leadership potential officers training in the U.S.—so that they become "familiar with American institutions and the American way of life" (p 17). In addition, America provides on site training by small teams (may be military advisers). "Training is provided on-the-spot usually in an operational field". Since this programme was started in 1950, 500 have been trained. This training programme has been made available to Indonesia, Korea, Thailand, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Philippines etc in the Asian Theatre alone. Indonesia, Korea and Thailand get over one Million US Dollars each. In 1978, India received 300,000, Pakistan 551,000 and the Philippines

704,000. On a per capita head of population Sri Lanka is being paid more on this programme than any other of these recipient nations.

The Congressional presentation goes on "Though the Sri Lanka military is not a major actor 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."

A battle - field of the future

Another professed aim in the presentation is to "reinforce the professionalism of the Sri Lankan military", in the name of counter-balancing "military training undertaken in the Soviet Union". On page 155 it states that "the IMET programme would allow Sri Lanka to continue avoiding undue dependence on any single power."

This latest congressional presentation confirms if any confirmation is needed that Sri Lanka and the nations of the Indian Ocean littoral are now in the front line, in what seems destined to be a battle field of the

future. Lenin has stated "The soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the mortal blow both possible and easy." What is happening now is that "moral disintegration" Lenin spoke of. What Next?

G.C.E.(O/L) EXAM TO BE POSTPONED?

The G.C.E. (O/L) examination scheduled to be held between 13th—21st December will be postponed, it is believed. This is due to the Referendum on December 17th. Many of the schools where examinations are held will function as polling booths. The examination is expected to be held after Christmas.

It destroys the right of the people, says G. C. S. U.

"The proposal to hold a referendum to extend the life of parliament destroys the right of the people to elect their members of parliament," says the Government Clerical Service Union in the course of a Press Statement.

The statement signed by the President Mr. R. M. T. B. Ratnayake, calls upon the working class, the Tamil nationals, peasants, the youth and the masses to unite to defeat this dictatorial scheme.

Women's Liberation in the Jaffna campus!

Who says there is no equality of sexes in Jaffna? This incident took place at the Jaffna campus during a ragging session recently.

A fresher student—a male—was seen trying to find his way about with much care not to be spotted by any seniors. But danger came from unexpected quarters. He suddenly found himself surrounded by a group of 7 or 8 senior girls obviously with the inten-

tion of having some fun. After going through the formal procedures of ragging, one girl demanded pointing to another of the group, "How many marks will you give her? The boy thoroughly confused stammered out 'thirty five'. Then you must do 35 Thopukaranams' (sit up exercise with right hand holding left ear and left hand holding right ear) was the order he received from the senior girls and he complied!

Most independent political commentators, including yours truly, were not wholly correct in their assessment of the outcome of Sri Lanka's first Presidential election. Even the usually reliable British Broadcasting Corporation read the signals wrong this time. The wily old Junius Richard Jayawardene had gone and done what we all thought was the impossible!!

Mr. Jayawardene's victory has spared Sri Lanka so much change, chaos—and possible violence. For the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is committed to radical political and socio-economic reforms whose implementation, had Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe won would certainly have been resisted by the United National Party and its foreign backers. Then a dangerous situation such as that I visualised in the "Saturday Review" of 16th October could well have emerged.

For the present, the UNP could be happy; the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and foreign investors could be happy; the United States of America and other Western countries could be happy; as also the large segment of our population which plumped for 76-year Mr. Jayawardene.

I say "for the present" because the struggle between the Government and the Opposition is by no means over; rather, it has become more sharpened, with the next round fixed for 17th December, when a referendum will be held.

PERSONAL

TRIUMPH

To dwell on the Presidential election itself for a while. Without detracting from Mr. Jayawardene's personal triumph—it was simply that as conceded by the party high command—he cannot be complacent with the result, as he himself said at his meeting with foreign correspondents.

The SLFP challenge failed because Mr. Kobbekaduwe, the stand-in for the "jailed" party leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, had to fight on many fronts. He had to take on not only the UNP but also the LSSP and the JVP, whose campaigns were very damaging to the party's image. Worse, there was the continued appearance of dissension at the higher levels of the party.

There are some partymen who say that Mr. Anura

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

Bandaranaike was more of a liability than an asset to Mr. Kobbekaduwe. His late entry into the campaign and the apparent half-hearted support lent credence to Mr. Jayawardene's charge that "family bandyism" still reigned supreme in the party.

However, the fact that despite these handicaps the SLFP polled nearly 700,000 votes more than at the 1977 general election, compared to an increase of only about 275,000 votes for the UNP must be food for thought—and considerable concern—for the ruling party.

had all along planned to carry on the Government beyond the original six-year term, using the UNP's parliamentary majority, is clear from his frequent reiteration that "unlike Mrs. Bandaranaike, I will not extend the duration of Parliament without the consent of the people." The referendum procedure had been included in the Constitution with this very objective.

The Bill to extend the term of Parliament will first have to be approved by "not less than two-thirds of the whole number of MPs, including those not

placing a cross opposite the symbol allotted to the word "Yes" (Lamp) or the word "No" (Pot).

None of the Opposition parties is likely to endorse the proposal because what is sought is to entrench and perpetuate UNP rule, "to roll up the electoral map of Sri Lanka?" in Mr. Jayawardene's own words.

If the majority of the people say "No", then the President could carry on with the existing Parliament for its full term ending next August or go in for a general election.

Dahanayake, to give a combined strength of 96 members (inclusive of six nominated members).

The eight parties came together not on a concrete programme but purely out of a common desire to keep the SLFP and its Marxist allies out, as became evident from subsequent events. The heterogeneous mix did not work.

Now Mr. Jayawardene is trying to form a "national Government." It is good if he succeeds because it would ensure continuity of the development programme launched in 1977 and could also pave the way for the redressing of the grievances of the minorities, especially the Tamil people. But to be both meaningful and successful such a Government must include representatives of ALL the major parties in the country, not just a few of them.

Will the SLFP be invited, and will it join if invited? It is on record

The struggle is by no means over: It has sharpened

It has to be remembered that, unlike in 1977, the UNP had all the advantages of being in control of the state machinery, the backing of all the main state and privately-owned newspapers and virtually unlimited funds.

Overall, the combined Opposition secured 47.09% of the total valid votes cast, compared to the UNP's 52.91%, with the SLFP's own share up from last time's 30% to 39%.

WITH PEOPLE'S CONSENT

If the same voting pattern is repeated at a general election, on the basis of proportional representation the new Parliament would be composed of a near equality of Government and Opposition members. Should there be a further swing to the Opposition, then the President would be confronted with a hostile Parliament. But a referendum could ensure for him the same five-sixths majority in it as now.

That Mr. Jayawardene

present. (Article 83 (b)). The requisite number is 112 votes.

Thereafter, it has to be submitted to the people and, according to Article 85 (3), it shall become law if approved "by an absolute majority of the valid votes cast".

However, if the votes cast does not exceed two-thirds of the total number of registered voters, then the Bill "shall be deemed to be approved only if approved by not less than one-third of the whole number of the electors."

This means that, with the number of registered votes at 8,145,015, the Bill must receive the endorsement of at least 2,715,000 people. Mr. Jayawardene appears to be on safe ground here!

The referendum, to be conducted by the Commissioner of Elections will be on the same lines as the Presidential election except that, instead of candidates, there will be a proposal in the form of a question to which the people will have to say "Yes" or "No" by

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The formation of a "National Government" has been the cherished goal of a number of our political leaders. This is an acknowledgement that party politics as practised in Sri Lanka has been our bane, setting people, as individuals and as groups and classes, against one another and hindering the development process.

We had a "National Government" of sorts between 1965-1970. The rightwing UNP, led by Mr. Dudley Senanayake, with 66 members in the 157 member Parliament, combined with the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna of Mr. Philip Gunawardena, "Father of Marxism in Sri Lanka", the Tamil nationalist Federal Party and the Tamil Congress and the Sinhalese nationalist Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna, the Ceylon Workers Congress, the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party of Mr. C. P. de Silva and the one-man Lanka Prajatantra Party of Dr. W.

that shortly after the last election Mr. Jayawardene offered portfolios to Mrs. Bandaranaike and several other SLFP leaders but there were no acceptors. In the present political climate, there is little reason to believe that Mrs. Bandaranaike would change her mind.

As for the Tamil United Liberation Front, its leadership may agree to co-operate with the Government in return for more "concessions"; but the question is whether the rank and file would agree. Large sections of the Tamil people ignored the call to boycott the Presidential election, indicating that there is a widening gap between the leaders and the led.

Mr. Jayawardene is said to be keen to form a "National Government" before the referendum, by dropping out members who are regarded as "liabilities" and inducting others, in the process including more members who are firm personal loyalists. So in the next few weeks we could witness more defections and plenty of horse-dealing.

(Continued from
last issue)

This is the concluding instalment of this six-part Article under the above caption. The essence of the argument the writer advanced has been that—given the difference between the national ethos of the Sinhalese and that of the Tamils, the full development of the two groups of people, the realization of the fullness of their personalities, can best be achieved if only they live, operate and function in separate polities. The purpose of the State Organization is to provide the environment, the facilities and opportunities, in short the infrastructure that would permit and enable the individuals to realize the fullness of their personalities.

When two groups of people with different ethos are forced to live together in the same polity, conflicts are bound to develop, a lot of time and energy and scarce resources are absorbed in the processes which give rise to or generate the conflicts and subsequently in the futile attempts to solve the conflicts which are "problems" for the State. The act of bringing the Sinhalese and Tamils into one polity was the Satanic action of the British Imperialists, who did so for their own imperialist ends; there were of course no conflicts during the British era because the State was run by the Britisher and the two underdogs had a common foe to rail at both for real and fancied sins of commission and omission of the Ruler.

DENIAL OF SENSE OF FREEDOM

Industrial psychologists have discovered after extensive researches that the performance and output of an employee is distinctly superior if a fellow workman is one towards whom he is well disposed compared to a situation in which the fellow workman is one towards whom he is not well-disposed.

Over his thirty years of teaching experience preparing students for Degree and Professional examinations of London, the writer has found that remarkable results were achieved when students formed their own teams for what they call joint study notwithstanding the fact that much time was wasted in chatting and horseplay. That the environment brings forth into activity many an unsuspected capabilities and potentialities in man, which would otherwise remain dormant and unactivated

FEELAM

Good for the Tamils but
better for the Sinhalese
(also for Uncle Sam and Auntie
Maggie — 6)

or diverted into undesirable channels, is an undeniable fact. A single polity for Sinhalese and Tamils in this Island vitiates the potentialities of the Tamils through the denial of a sense of freedom and opportunities while it misdirects and wastes the potentialities of the Sinhalese through an oppressive sense of constraint and no doubt much fear for no reason. The fear arises through the pursuit of the desire to rule and hold imperial sway over the Tamils.

A friend of the writer related this story a few

access to his house.

Another couple of soldiers, went in one of these monster vehicle gifted or sold by either Uncle Sam or Auntie Maggie, one night along the Point Pedro Road. They heard a sound resembling that of a gunshot. They stretched their deadly guns and released the triggers into the pitch darkness. A lame chap (of course a Tamil) limping home after some miserable day of hard work got cured instantaneously of his lameness and limping habits. In those old days—even now when the British Queen came—lame fellows

a fake parcel bomb to defuse it.

Now let us forget for the moment, these unseemly vehicles speeding up and down the narrow roads, and visualize these soldiers without bringing into our minds their guns and their uniforms. Let us picture them in our minds in sarongs and shirts. These tommies are just ordinary young men, really just boys with bulk of their lives ahead of them. They are now in that stage of their lives when normally they would lead carefree lives, sing like a lark, move about freely and enjoy life

by Somasundaram Vanniasingam

days back. He lives in a house which abuts on the road near Nallur Kandasamy temple. It was a day during the recent festivals at the temple. On the sultry afternoon he got up from a short nap interrupted by perspiration; he went forward and opened the window which swings on to the road; it was an old house and the wooden window was not a flush-fitting one lending itself to noiseless operation as mansions in Colombo-7 are equipped with. It is an old Yappane house and the window had to be pushed with some force; the window swung fast and banged on the wall. The poor householder experienced the consternation of his life. A soldier raised his gun and jumped up literally dancing in the air looking in all directions. It took some minutes for the soldier to realize that it was not a "Kottiya" but an innocent householder. After the soldier realized the truth, the friend went out and putting a smile chatted with the gun-laden soldier and restored calm and composure to the excitable tommy by assuring him that there was no "Kottiya" in his house and no "Kottiya" could have

and beggars were removed from the public highways when the king went out majestically on the road. That perhaps applies to the Imperial tommies also.

It is really a sight that makes one philosophize when day after day one sees dozens of tommies in the crowded pavements and roads in the Jaffna Bazaar moving hither and thither with guns held in position and fingers ready to operate the triggers. When the monster vehicles flit across the rather narrow roads of Jaffna, designed in the days of the Dutch rule, guns remain stretched out in the front, the sides and the rear of such unsightly vehicles. Jaffna's men, women and children bear these with stoic fortitude and patiently wait for redemption since in human affairs there is always an end; and end there has been and will be to all imperialist aggressions.

But the tommies are certainly not at ease; a glance at the face of these tommies will convince anyone who has an iota of ability to read one's mind from one's face. School children give graphic accounts of how these tommies behave when handling

in all manner of pleasures with little animus towards others; they may indulge in pranks and horseplay but at such age they do not develop animus or venom. At this stage of life when they are to spend their lives pleasantly with a girl friend—perhaps with more than one girl friend—they are standing to attention even in moving vehicles for the major part of the day holding the gun in position and turning their eyes from extreme to extreme. Why should they be subjected to this life of tension; this nightmare of "Kottiya Ave." Just for the Imperial grandeur of a few politicians finding relish in reviving the memories of Duttu Gamini and the empire at Jayawardhanapura; or perhaps for demonstrating Buddha Dharma!

These youthful soldiers are placed in a state of tension just because politicians want to have the pride of an empire, of ruling the Tamils by force of arms. The writer uses the term empire quite advisedly. Under the Constitution, sovereignty resides in the people and is inalienable (Article 3). According to the same constitution the sovereign people gave a

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" the 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. 2-10-1982).

(c) the response of Marxism: (S. R. 9-10-1982).

(d) the attitude in regard to economic organization; (S. R. 16-10-1982).

(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.

mandate to their elected representatives elected at the General Election of 1977—and empowered their Representatives to adopt a Constitution and accordingly the said Representatives acting on such Mandate solemnly resolved

"to constitute Sri Lanka into a democratic socialist Republic" (Preamble to the Constitution).

The territory of Sri Lanka consists of the twenty four administrative districts (Articles 5). It is not a case of Sri Lanka being divided into twenty four administrative districts. Sri Lanka is composed of the 24 districts. Thus the administrative districts are anterior to and have a prior existence to the Republic of Sri Lanka and it is only their coming together by the exercise of their sovereign will which brings into existence the Republic of Sri Lanka. The people of the Tamil Districts, and mind you they are sovereign people never gave any such Mandate to anybody to constitute themselves into a

(Continued overleaf)

(Continued from page 5)

Republic of Sri Lanka along with the people of some other Districts. Thus the Republic of Sri Lanka has not been duly constituted in so far as the Tamil Districts of the Island of Ceylon are concerned. That is the legal position.

The State Organization and every Organ of the State created under the said Constitution, including the Judiciary, do not have a legally valid base. The Government is only a de facto government operating by virtue of the force of arms supplied by Uncle Sam and Auntie Maggie; the Government is completely devoid of any de jure status. If the Government wants to establish a legal base, as distinct from the artillery base, for exercising any type of power including the power to prosecute persons before any Court of Law, it must in the first instance seek an affirmative vote from the people of the Tamil Districts by way of a Referendum in terms of Article 86 of the Constitution to have the constitution validated. Unless and until the Government gets the Constitution so validated the exercise of any power of the State over the Tamil Districts is ultra vires and illegal. What now operates is exercise of power by sheer force of arms liberally provided by Uncle Sam and Auntie Maggie.

EMPIRES CAN BE HEADACHES

The Tamil Districts constitute Eeylom and the rule by Sinhala Lanka over Eeylom is COLONIALISM pure and simple.

It was Disraeli who said that the Colonies were like millstones round England's neck. That was so far back as the 19th Century. In the 20th century Britain decided to throw down the millstones and run away from the Empire in order to have peace of mind. Instalments of a book about Mountbatten currently serialized in a daily in Sri Lanka reveal in what haste Britain was to throw away the Empire. Let the Sinhala Lanka politicians bitten by the bug of Imperial glory learn from the experience of earlier Imperial Powers what a headache Empires can be.

Sometimes back a Venerable Bhikku wanted the Government to send ONE THOUSAND WARRIORS (VEERIAH) to rule the Tamils. Now The Island reveals that there are THREE THOUSAND

EELAM

Contd.

WARRIORS in Jaffna alone for the purpose of ruling the Tamils and it states confidently that more will be sent. The people of Jaffna have developed a Stoic calmness and composure and the youngsters find relaxation in preparing fake parcel bombs. Let the Imperial masters send thirty thousand soldiers—nay Warriors. Let the Government commandeer all the schools and station these Warriors needed to rule the Tamils; The Tamil students rely on Tutories not on the Government schools; The writer would suggest an army of three hundred thirty three thousand and three hundred and thirty three warriors emulating Dutta Gamani of old. Then the Imperial power will have one soldier to every two human creatures of the ethnic group called Tamils. At the elections, there was one soldier/policeman to every ten voters; many voters did not turn up and so the proportion must have increased. At the polling booth the khaki clad armed personnel were remarkably quiet on this occasion and perhaps courteous to the voters particularly female voters. They stretched their hands and gave signs; that is the talk of the town; and there were seventy seven thousand votes for the "hand". One hopes that by the time of the Parliamentary election, there would be sufficient number of Sinhala warriors in Eeylom to reach the proportion of one warrior to every two voters.

IT WILL BE A GREAT RELIEF

Hitherto we showed how in the sphere of subjective experience it would be a great relief for the Sinhala warriors as well as to the Sinhala Government and the Sinhala public to be rid of the empire of Eeylom. Now we shall examine some objective features that would follow the riddance of the Colony of Eeylom.

If the colony of Eeylom is got rid of, the Sinhalese would find that there was no need for "Tamil also". The January 8, 1966 Regulations for the use of the Tamil Language which was

enacted with a Bhikku being shot dead and which caused Dudley Senanayake his political life, could be scrapped. The Sinhalese feel a great desire to have a "Sinhala Only polity" and once Eeylom is got rid of, they could have the much desired Sinhala only polity. The "Tamil also" character of the polity calls for thousands of translators in the Government departments: utter waste of time, money and resources apart from the inordinate delay. Government forms have now to be printed in all the three languages with the result that the print is so small and unreadable. Once Eeylom is got rid of, the myriads of forms in use in Government departments could be streamlined in pure Sinhala and present a pleasing appearance. In fact printing in a single language is much quicker.

When Eeylom is got rid of from the Sri Lanka polity, the vast hordes of Tamil public servants would not be there in these Government departments, in fact in the entire Public sector. Tens of thousands of vacancies would arise and these could be filled by Sinhala youths. All employment opportunities would be exclusively available to the Sinhalese. The argument throughout has been that the Tamils are holding a disproportionately large number of good jobs in the public Sector. All these good jobs would thereafter be exclusively for the Sinhalese. There would be no Tamil protesting when a Sinhalese gets a promotion.

The late Handy Perinbanayagam delivered a talk at the Colombo Y.M.C.A. Forum some thirty years

ago. The talk was about the Jaffna Man. At the end of the talk one question that was shot at the lecturer was this: Is not the Jaffna man rather litigious? The lecturer gave a very smart reply. He said that he was inclined to think that the Sinhalese were more litigious seeing that a large number of Tamil lawyers had trooped out to Colombo and other South Ceylon Courts but not a single Sinhalese lawyer was in Jaffna. But scoring a debating point is not the same thing as giving a true picture. The Jaffna man is rather litigious and that is how Jaffna has produced an abundance of lawyers and rather cute lawyers at that. If the

colony of Eeylom is got rid of from the Sri Lanka (Sinhala Lanka) polity, the opportunity for Sinhala lawyers would proliferate. During the racial riots of 1958 a number of Tamil traders in Veyangoda were badly attacked and their shops looted. These traders were staunch supporters of Bandaranaike at the elections; they supported him not because they understood or were convinced of his policies or stance but solely because of self-interest of a despicable character: a few Tamil traders vehemently supporting the "Sinhala Only" political leader. Bandaranaike never wanted their support. Veyangoda was his pocket borough. Bandaranaike had a remarkable trait. He would not hesitate to taunt or ridicule his own supporters by bringing out unpalatable truths without being inhibited by considerations that it would offend a man to his face. He is reported to have told the leader of the delegation of Tamil traders: "Yes, Mudalali, but you have made enough money; you can now go home". It is useful to dwell on this aspect of

What SWRD told Tamil traders in 1958

Bandaranaike's character, or rather the character of Bandaranaike the politician. He understood and sought to identify himself with and did really reflect the urges and aspirations, the mind of the ordinary Sinhalese man. He did this to a degree unparalleled by any other political leader. What he told to the Tamil traders of Veyangoda way back in 1958 is really the mind of the average Sinhalese. Bandaranaike never went after the Sellasamys and the Thondamans with glib words and sleek tongues while simultaneously devising a relief for beggars from other Estate labourers: a relief for beggars from other beggars; further impoverishing the impoverished.

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page 6)

Bandaranaike was no Machiavellian. It is said of the Tudor monarchs that notwithstanding their many personal faults they were all very popular and carried the nation with them in whatever they did. Their forte, it is stated, was their ability to identify themselves with the average Englishman. In the same manner Bandaranaike reflected the average Sinhalese in a remarkable manner. That is why the Sinhalese people are overwhelmed with the Mantram of Bandaranaike policies although in reality nothing called Bandaranaike policies could be discerned. No political scientist could write a summary of Bandaranaike policies. The Mantram of Bandaranaike policies has survived Bandaranaike and will continue for a long time to be a force to reckon with. Will anything called "Jayawardene policies" survive President Jayawardene? Even with the torrential flow of American dollars and arms?

MONEY EARNED UNDER HATRED

The writer would recall to the Tamils flourishing in South Ceylon an ancient Tamil "Mantram" "மதியா தார் முத்தம் மிதியாமை கோடியுறும்" Keep out from where you are not wanted; its value has to be reckoned in billions. If a people were to preserve their self-respect and character disregarding the filthy lucre earned by a handful of them, generations unborn will flourish. Let us not forget that the filthy lucre is earned by a handful of Tamils under hatred and curses of no mean dimensions.

There is another respect in which the creation of Eeylom will benefit the Sinhalese. Politics of Sri Lanka is often subject to unpredictable skewness through the intercession of the Tamil votes. This aspect is best illustrated from examples. In the General Elections of 1947 the Marxist groups secured 19 seats as against 42 for the ruling U.N.P. The Hill country Tamil votes did contribute to the success of the bulk of the Marxists; they did also receive the support of the indigenous Tamils voters in most electorates in the South. At that time the Tamils were thoroughly disgusted that the Soulbury Constitution had completely ignored the case of the Tamils; that D. S. Senanayake had outmanoeuvred the Tamils by pleasing the Britisher in some subtle



D. S. SENANAYAKE
*He outmanoeuvred
the Tamils*

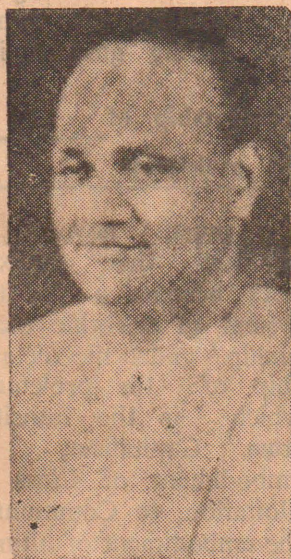
ways. The Tamils were therefore not averse to joining forces with anyone who were opposed to D.S. Senanayake and the U.N.P. The Tamil Congress with a strength of seven in the House did not pursue the Anti-U.N.P. stance. After one or two conferences at what were then known as Yalta Sessions held for forming an Anti-U.N.P. front, Ponnambalam gave up attending the conferences. But the C.W.C. also with a strength of seven in the House did continue the Anti-U.N.P. stance in the company of the Marxists. Throughout that Parliament, the hill country Tamils stood aligned with the Marxists in the anti-U.N.P. Front.

This is a matter on which some hard thinking is needed. If you have within the polity some groups which could not be integrated, that group can at some crucial times throw its weight with some anti-national forces and power could be seized by somebody who did not really reflect the general will of the people of the country. In 1947 there was some real risk of that nature. Undoubtedly the U.N.P. at that time reflected the Sinhalese people at large. The Marxists never reflected the popular will but through some adventitious circumstances—the General Strike of 1947 and the hill country Tamil vote—they captured a number of seats. If only there were some dissidents from the U.N.P. the Marxists could have seized power through the formation of some Anti-U.N.P. Fronts.

The risk of some group not reflecting the popular will getting into the seats of power with the aid of the Tamils, who remain a distinct and disgruntled entity is a real risk. Further the Tamils could strike a bargain with some aspirant for the top-hat—a bargain which does not command the consent of the general body of the Sinhalese. The B-C pact was in some measure a bargain of that

sort. Dudley Senanayake's arrangements on the issue of the Stateless was viewed in that light by the S.L.F.P. who later reversed the earlier settlement arrived at by Dudley Senanayake.

Mr. Amirthalingam being placed in the seat of the Leader of the Opposition is a negation of Parliamentary democracy. The Leader of the Opposition is an integral part of the edifice of Parliamentary Government. He reflects the popular will which stands opposed to that section of the popular will which forms the Government. He offers them an alternative Government. Surely the S.L.F.P. which secured 19 lakhs of votes should fill that role. Mr. Amirthalingam filling the position is a clear negation of Parliamentary democracy brought about by the fact that the polity consisted of two distinct groups which could not form an integrated polity. It is all the more inappropriate since Mr. Amirthalingam got elected on a Mandate to set up a separate State.



A. AMIRTHALINGAM
Inappropriate

Some such quirks can occur in the future with serious consequences unless the Eeylom Tamils are thrown out of the Polity of Sri Lanka. A polity should not be constituted of two distinct groups which do not form an integrated single entity. Sri Lanka may not have had risky situations in the past but one cannot rule out such situations arising in the future. Suppose some Super-power has secured firm roots for its influence in the country; would not the presence within the polity of a dissatisfied distinctive group always seeking bargains present an opportunity for the Super power? It is the quality of the polity and not the quantity of the polity, i.e., the size and population, that makes for the strength of the nation. These are matters to which serious minded Sinhalese people should give some deep thought.

Another aspect of politics also deserves some serious thinking by Sinhalese

If Eelam is excluded, Sri Lanka can become a homogeneous polity

people who are genuinely interested in the long-term prosperity of their polity. In the past very often a political party which develops an anti-Tamil stance found that to be a sure-fire device to harvest votes; a political party without clear policies on economic, political and other matters can find itself in the seats of power solely on an anti-Tamil stance. In 1970 S.L.F.P. came into the seats of power primarily by accusing Dudley Senanayake of having surrendered to the Tamils; the Government of Dudley Senanayake was dubbed to be a U.N.P.-F.P. coalition. Dudley Senanayake's settlement of the Stateless people was characterized as adverse to the Sinhalese; much capital was made out of the Reasonable use of Tamil Language Regulations; Dudley Senanayake's District Councils Bill was flayed as a surrender to the Tamils; in fact D. S. Senanayake's statue was given a liberal application of *thala-thel* and garlanded with a garland of Vadais. It was an anti-Tamil stance on the part of the S.L.F.P. that enabled it to overwhelm Dudley Senanayake's party in 1970 although the period 1965 to 1970 was really a very satisfactory era politically, economically and otherwise. But the S.L.F.P. which had no coherent policies and no capable leadership was able to overwhelm the U.N.P. on the anti-Tamil stance.

Even in 1956, Bandaranaike came to power purely on the Sinhala Only cry; but then Bandaranaike was a man of calibre, maturity, understanding and vision. Beyond the nationalization of the Bus services, he did not succumb to other measures born of hair-brained schemes; and the private company bus-services at that time were in a really deplorable state. Bandaranaike's speech at the Party's annual Sessions just before his death was a firm statement of policy of which the people could be proud. It is interesting to recall that when Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was expelled from Parliament she gave prominence to her achievement on Kachchativu, that uninhabitable Island off Delft. Well, that is a clear indication that she relies on raising racial

issues to defend her wrongful actions in entirely different spheres.

If Eeylom is excluded from the polity of Sri Lanka, the politics of Sri Lanka would get confined to really relevant matters in economic, political and other fruitful spheres. That would help to raise the tone of the political life.

Finally there is another aspect that should not be overlooked. When Eeylom is excluded, Sri Lanka would become, qualitatively speaking, a more satisfactorily constituted polity; a homogeneous polity and such a polity can achieve a lot. Just imagine the amount of time and energy that was spent and the brain-racking that took place in devising the Development Councils which would be acceptable to Mr. Amirthalingam and at the same time unobjectionable to the Sinhala racialists. In the end the Development Councils that emerged are bound to be counter-productive of Development and prolific breeders of corruption, factions and the like. If Sri Lanka was a homogeneous polity, the Development Councils could have been fashioned solely on sound principles of organization and made to achieve results. When Eeylom and Sri Lanka are separate polities, both would be qualitatively desirable units and their achievements would be really high. There is bound to be a strong urge to emulate each other on the more desirable features of the other polity. The Sinhalese would take note of the meritorious aspects of the Tamil polity; the Tamils would similarly observe the more desirable and fruitful aspects of the Sinhala polity. Both would proceed to emulate the other in such respects with mutual benefit.

Thus viewed from every angle, the exclusion of Eeylom from the polity of Sri Lanka would be beneficial to both the Sinhalese and the Tamils; but to appreciate it, one must in the first instance free himself from bondage to wrong-headed preconceived notions and inherited prejudices.

Next week: Eeylom: Constitution making—
Some Basic Principles

This is in response to Part 111 (Oct. 9, 1982) of Somasundaram Vanniasingam's series of articles currently being published in the *Saturday Review*. Before proceeding to clarify certain misconceptions that Mr. Vanniasingam appears to have on the Theory and Practice of Marxism as manifest in his article referred to above, I wish to congratulate him for the streaks of genius, ignore and forgive patches of naivety and condemn the plethora of distortions and demagoguery that are clearly discernible in his series of articles.

His tirade against Marxism, which is more a case of a deliberate perpetration of myths than misconceptions, belongs to the last category. I am only sorry that I am compelled to delve into a subject-matter that ought not to be discussed in an arena provided by the *Saturday Review*. However, I will be failing in my duty if demagogic writings meant for public consumption are allowed to pass without any criticism. I also owe it to budding Tamil Marxists, who lack fluency in English, to take up cudgels with Mr. Vanniasingam.

Theory & Practice of Marxism

Mr. Somasundaram Vanniasingam's article basically aims at justifying the following myths that he has perpetrated on the problem of Theory and Practice of Marxism:

1. "The entire writings of Karl Marx and others of the same ilk could be published under the title, *A Political System for Scientific Dictatorship*."
2. "Men with overwhelming thirst to exercise power and authority over others are attracted by Marxism."
3. "While the Sinhala masses have embraced Marxism, the Tamil People have rejected it." "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."

Let me now take the above Myths one by one, in an attempt at exploding them.

MYTH 1

Mr. Vanniasingam's argument is completely devoid of Scientificity, Objectivity and Scholarship. The writings of Marx,

Those Marxism myths : Ketheeswaran Loganathan replies Vanniasingam

Engels and Lenin, make it very clear that Marxism, far from being "a political system for scientific dictatorship" is actually a frame-work of reference or an ideology which provides an analytical framework for the understanding of the role of the State in Capitalist social formations and in its transition from Capitalism to Communism. Marxism also attempts at identifying the social, economic and political forces which would bring about the demise of Capitalism.

An insoluble contradiction

Marx's notion of the State is best brought out by Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. To quote: "The State in no way constitutes a force imposed on society from outside. Nor is the State 'the reality of the Moral Idea' 'the image and reality of Reason' as Hegel asserted (or as Mr. Vanniasingam asserts). The State is the product of Society at a certain stage of its development. The State is tantamount to an acknowledgment that the given society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has broken up into irreconcilable antagonisms, of which it is powerless to rid itself. And in order that these antagonisms, these classes with their opposing economic interests may not devour one another and Society itself in their sterile struggle, some force standing, seemingly above Society, becomes necessary so as to moderate the force of their collisions and to keep them within the bounds of 'order'. And this force arising from society, but placing itself above it, which gradually separates itself from it—this force is the State."

An organ of oppression

Lenin in his *State and the Revolution* elaborates on the above concept of the State and dispels any misconceptions that frequently arise out of it. To quote; "According to Marx, the State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order

which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. But in the opinion of the lower middle class politicians, the establishment of order is equivalent to the reconciliation of classes, and not to the oppression of one class by another. To moderate their collisions does not mean, according to them, to deprive the oppressed class of certain definite means and methods in its struggle for throwing off the yoke of the oppressors, but to conciliate it."

Mr. Vanniasingam is most welcome to differ from the Marxist concept of the State. But he has absolutely no right to criticize the "writings of Marx and his ilk" without first having grasped it.

Dictatorship of the proletariat

It must, however, be admitted that Marxism does become a "political system of scientific dictatorship" under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the transition from Capitalism, the embodiment of Class exploitation, to Communism, the embodiment of ultimate Humanism based on the ideal, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." But, there is no need for Marxists to be apologetic for what should be considered as inevitable and necessary, if the ideals of Communism are to be attained.

A classic case of demagoguery

Further, Mr. Vanniasingam's reference to the bankruptcy of the Left in Sri Lanka, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is yet to be established, or his reference to the problems of transition faced by post-revolutionary societies in Eastern Europe, China and Indo-China, where Communism is yet to be established, does not in any way validate his 'thesis'. The problems faced by post-revolutionary and socialist societies and any divergence between Marxist theory and practice when recognized by Marxists are welcome; but what

Mr. Vanniasingam has done is to criticize his own misconceptions and myths of Marxism—a classic case of demagoguery.

MYTH 2

Mr. Vanniasingam's assertion that, "men with overwhelming thirst to exercise power and authority over others are attracted by Marxism" is an attempt at psycho-analysis. I will not attempt to reply to the above allegation as I am neither a psychologist nor a psychiatrist. I am, however, tempted to pose the following question: "Why on earth, then, did not Hitler, Mussolini, Pinochet and our own J. R. and Amir embrace Marxism?" Mr. Vanniasingam will not have an answer, since his Myth 2 is a classic, but a neurotically, pathetic ploy adopted by "Commie-haters". The dust-bin of History awaits them.

MYTH 3

Let us now consider Vanniasingam's assertion that the reason for the Sinhala People to embrace Marxism and the Tamil People to reject it, lies in the "national character of the two peoples that inhabit the island, 'and the denial of the 'process of the ballot' to the Tamil people which, however, is available to the Sinhala People to bring about change in accordance with the will of the people. Mr. Vanniasingam, through the above argument pertaining to the 'process of the ballot', appears to have the same illusions that the Sri Lankan Left Parties have on the possibilities of capturing State Power through the parliamentary system. Historically, no left party has succeeded in doing so without the backing of a revolutionary upsurge, or if they did succeed, as in the case of Allende's Chile, survived long enough to be able to launch their country along a Socialist Path. Mr. Vanniasingam, like the traditional left in Sri Lanka and even the "new" left, has failed to make the crucial distinction between the "Government" and the "State". The problems faced by the parliament-oriented Marx-

ist Parties of India (C.P.I. and C.P.M.) in pushing through a socialist programme of a mild variant in the states of Kerala and West Bengal, despite being in the Government, was precisely due to the unchanging class character of the Indian STATE. Similarly, nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, without having captured State Power, cannot be equated with the "dictatorship of the proletariat". Thus, the argument that the Sinhala People and the Tamil People could have "voted" for a socialist society through the "process of the ballot", if they had so desired, is pure crap.

Revisionist tendencies

Proceeding to the argument that the Tamil People by "nature" are individualistic and pacific and, therefore, are not bound to embrace Marxism, is a sweeping statement which is ahistorical. The reason for the traditional left losing its power base among the Tamil People was actually due to certain revisionist tendencies within the Left, which led to its emergence as a populist movement nurtured by Sinhala Chauvinism and the electoral process. Further Mr. Vanniasingam makes a fundamental error in assuming that "human nature" is something which is permanent and autonomous. Let me remind Mr. Vanniasingam of the Western propaganda before the liberation of the Kampuchean People from American Imperialism, which claimed that the conditions for a violent overthrow of the pro-western Sihanouk regime was not present since the Kampuchean People were by "nature" pacifist because of their adherence to Mahayana Buddhism. Despite this propaganda, a violent revolution did take place and the rest is history.

Marxism and liberation struggles

No people who are systematically subject to national oppression and state terrorism will remain submissive or individualistic for ever. And all successful national liberation struggles under neo-colonialism have inevitably used Marxism as a theoretical weapon and dreamt of Socialism as a "blue print" for their newly acquired Nationhood. The struggle for Tamil Eelam will not be an exception. Although Mr. Vanniasingam's generation and my generation may not live to see this day, our future generation certainly will.

LETTERS

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

"I crave the indulgence of your columns to comment on some of the statements and observations made in the daily newspapers regarding the Presidential Election results. My comments will be confined to the participation of the Tamil voter in this election.

"It is now claimed by President Jayawardena that the people of the Jaffna District have voted against Tamil Eelam. This is certainly not so and the President knows that it is not so. In the Jaffna District the percentage which polled was 50%, whilst the normal percentage is around 80%. There was a call for a boycott and non-participation in the elections and a direction not to vote for the Tamil candidate by the TULF. There were very many other organisations also calling for a boycott. Under the circumstances, a turn-out of 50% has made the boycott call a failure. Still, it must not be forgotten that a considerable number of those who did not vote are undoubtedly supporters of Tamil Eelam.

"It is also not correct for President Jayawardena to say that the majority in the North and East did not favour Tamil Eelam. It must not be forgotten that whilst the Jaffna District is a pure Tamil District, the Vanni, Trincomalee and Amparai Districts are districts where the Muslim and Sinhala population is more than the Tamil population. In the Batticaloa District, where there is a sizeable voting population of Muslims and two Ministers, the U.N.P. was able to obtain only 900 odd votes more than the Tamil candidate. I say this to show that there can be no doubt that the vast majority of the Tamils in the North and East do favour Tamil Eelam.

"It is a crying shame that the TULF leadership has still not thought it their duty to correct President Jayawardena whilst offering him their congratulations. The Tamils are watching this act of omission on the part of the TULF leadership closely.

"It must also not be forgotten that the SLFP did not contest the DDC elec-

tions. It is well known that the SLFP openly supported the TULF at that election in the North and East and exhorted its supporters to vote for the TULF. At this election the TULF did not contest and there was a call from the SLFP that the TULF should support the SLFP at this election. Therefore, a certain section of the TULF paid back the debt owed to the SLFP whereby some of its M.Ps openly directed their supporters to vote for the SLFP. One cannot therefore say that the Tamil man's vote for the SLFP was for onions and chillies, nor can it be said that it was a vote against Tamil Eelam.

"Having been in the field, I know that there were other forces too which prompted the Tamil man to vote for the SLFP. For about one week before polling day there was a strong rumour that the SLFP candidate was going to win. The Tamil man reeling under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and longing for some relief for the strikers of July 1980 thought in terms of an SLFP President who promised to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act and alleviate the distress of the strikers. I would say that this attracted more Tamil voters to the SLFP than onions and chillies.

"I cautioned the Tamil leadership that a boycott or an indecisive stand at the elections will allow the Sinhalese to say that the Tamils are not for Tamil Eelam in the event of a poor poll. Notwithstanding this warning they kept to the stand taken earlier on. Today their own supporters are convinced that

the TULF leadership wanted such an interpretation because Tamil Eelam has become something embarrassing and inconvenient for them. If not for the call for a boycott by the TULF leadership and by a few other discredited and frustrated individuals there would have been a more affirmative vote for Tamil Eelam and for the Tamil candidate.

"If the vast majority of the Tamil voting population had gone to the polls, it would never have been possible for President Jayawardene to have obtained the 52.91% of the total votes polled enabling a victory on the first count. One can now say with certainty that the TULF's call for non-participation of the Tamils in this election was a sinister move to help the UNP candidate with an electoral victory on the first count. This is why Amirthalingam in his observations to the media con-

today this same leadership called upon the Tamils not to vote for the only Tamil candidate who was standing specifically for Tamil Eelam. Why? Because the small minded leadership of what was till recently a vast organisation was bugged by petty personal considerations and jealousies. In order to keep the leadership to themselves they were prepared to sacrifice the greater interest of the community. The TULF leadership has been treacherous in this matter and traitors to the Tamil cause. The blame will have to fall fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the TULF leadership for making it possible for the interpretation that the Tamils are not for Tamil Eelam.

"It is their call for a boycott that has definitely helped the UNP. This senile, impotent and ineffective TULF leadership must be annihilated at the first available opportunity because it is now apparent that they have used the

Indian origin voted en bloc for the UNP candidate, as they did at the DDC elections last year. That Thondaman should have forgotten the part played by the UNP in the Citizenship Acts in 1948 and 1949 and the Ratnapura and Balangoda areas in June 1981 shows that memories can be even shorter than popularly believed. Thondaman was one of those who told his people in the upcountry, where I did not set foot, not to vote for the Tamil candidate, forgetting the confession he made to me on the afternoon of the 7th of August 1982 that at the 1977 general elections his own people did not vote for him pushing him into third place. One does not know therefore whether those upcountry Tamils whom he could not get to vote for him voted for the UNP candidate at his behest. Thondaman's political acumen was such that he allowed the CWC to release to the media their executive

'Non-participation a sinister move to help J.R.' - Kumar

fesses that President Jayawardena's victory was envisaged as that was his reading of the situation in the country when he and seven of his M.Ps were out of the Island for a good part of a month before the elections and could not have gauged the pulse of the country. This was a fix between the TULF and the UNP and a fraud perpetrated on the Tamil people.

"This TULF leadership will be cursed by generations of Tamils to come for not contesting the elections themselves and for asking the people not to vote for the Tamil candidate who risked everything to keep the Tamil flag flying. It was this same TULF leadership who five years ago got up on platforms for Thondaman and Sellasamy and called upon the Tamils to vote for them despite the CWC having issued a statement disassociating themselves with Tamil Eelam. The TULF leadership did so only because Thondaman and Sellasamy were Tamils. But

Tamil cause to further their selfish ends as career parliamentarians. Since the diehard TULF supporters have realised this I am sure the Tamils also have realised this. For, the Tamils will not forgive the TULF leadership for telling the Tamils not to vote for the only Tamil candidate and not telling the Tamils, at the same time, that they should not vote for the UNP.

"It was sad to read the statement of a servile Thondaman. There is no doubt that the Tamils of

Committee's decision in September to support the UNP candidate. If the election had gone the other way Thondaman would have been responsible for the possible massacre of the plantation workers.

"In any case the Tamils must note the marked similarity between the calls made by the TULF and the CWC not to vote for the Tamil candidate. The million dollar question is whether this call was inspired by the same source—their UNP masters?

G. G. Ponnambalam

Huskison Street,
Trincomalee,
27.10.1982.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.
Sir,

The statement of Mr. R. R. Nalliah in the "Virakesari" of 23.10.82 is not worthy to be read with the voter's letter appearing in the S.R. of 16.10.82 under the caption "A TAMIL

VOTER WRITES TO J.R.". Perhaps Mr. Nalliah is not concerned about the heart-burning incidents in Jaffna. The irreparable losses, undermined dignity, frequent harassments, midnight arrests, the existence of anxiety and fear, unchecked railway robberies, have yet failed to arouse even a pinch of sympathy in the minds of Mr. Nalliah and

(Continued on page 11)

Soviet interest in Indian studies dates back to the 19th century. The variegated cultures and literatures of the Indian people attracted a number of Soviet writers and artists. Even well renowned writers like A. S. Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky, besides others, were deeply interested in Indian cultures. They appealed to the Soviet people to study Indian cultures and literatures which have a unique place in the world.

As far back as 1844, V. A. Jubowsky translated the *Nala-Damayanthi* story into Russian. The great Soviet critic V. G. Belinsky commented on this as a great boon to Russian literature. Between 1918 and 1967, about three hundred books of nearly seventy Indian scholars and writers were translated into thirty two languages of the Soviet Union resulting in the sale of two hundred and fifty lakhs of copies in all. For example, one hundred and forty four of **Tagore's works** were translated into twenty two Soviet languages and a total of forty lakhs of copies were sold out. Even the *Maha Bharata* was translated into Russian by V. I. Kaliyanov and P.S. Smirnov. *Maha Bharata* was published in 1958, the *Panchatantra* stories in 1958, and *Upanishad* stories in 1967. These were translated from Sanskrit.

Studying Tamil

in Madras

The study of Indian culture was not confined to translations from Sanskrit. The Soviet traveller and critic Jerasim Lebatev came to India in 1785. He spent two years in Madras learning Tamil. He returned to Russia and started a Press of his own and published some books. His book "Independent Thoughts" contained a collection of essays on Indian languages. Another writer of note is Prof. Evan Miniyev of St. Peter's Park University. He visited India thrice on cultural missions and wrote over one hundred and thirty books on Indian topics. Towards the end of the 19th century, Prof. S. K. Pulich wrote in Tamil and other Dravidian languages several articles dealing with the cultural heritage and glory.

A sound base for Tamil studies was founded by Prof. A. M. Mervart who, besides being a traveller and explorer was a great linguist and journalist. He died prematurely in 1932 causing a gap in the furtherance of Tamil studies.

He wrote the "Grammar of the spoken Tamil Language" in 1929 which is still used in the Soviet Universities as a "First Book." His wife, however, continued to render assistance to the furtherance of Tamil studies in the Soviet Union.

the Thirukkural into Russian but also has given a fitting foreword and illustrative explanatory notes. Besides his morphological analysis of the Kural, he has also analysed the grammatical language of the Silappadikaram and Pura-nanooru.

developed in recent times and shows some new trends. He has compared Tamil words with other Dravidian words and non-Dravidian words. This gives a new impetus to the development of Tamil. The last part deals with the structure of sentences. The

has done extensive research on Dravidian civilizations. She lived among the Todas of South India and examined their burial systems and came to the conclusion that the Dravidians were the megalithic builders and that it was an evolution from within and not sea-

Tamil studies in the Soviet Union

A new wave of interest in Tamil studies came after 1950 when a number of young scholars took to this field. Remarkable among them are Michael Andronov, Semyon, G. Rudin, A. Pyatyogorsky and Y. Glasov.

The *Tamil-Russian Dictionary* was compiled by Rudin and Pyatyogorsky and was published in 1963. The *Russian-Tamil Dictionary* was compiled by Andronov and Ibrakimov and published in 1964.

The works of Andronov are of significant interest and importance. The following works were published by him. "The Tamil Language" (1960), "The Spoken Tamil and its dialects" (1962), "The Carnarese Language" (1964), "The Dravidian Languages" (1965), "The grammar of the Tamil Language" (1966). Andronov, in collaboration with D. Y. Elisarenkova made comparative studies of Tamil and Indo-European languages and published some works. Andronov has also traced some relationship between the Dravidian languages and the languages of the Ural regions of the Soviet Union. Andronov, in collaboration with the renowned Czech Tamil scholar Kamil Zvelebil, published another work entitled "Introduction to Historical Tamil Grammar".

Epic of the anklet in Russian

Y. Glasov has made a critical study of the epigraphical Tamil by analysing a number of inscriptions. He has also rendered into Russian the *Silappadikaram*, the great epic on the anklet and the *Thirukkural*. These are two unique master-pieces in Tamil literature. Glasov has not merely translated

A. M. Pyatyogorsky has interested himself in the philosophical studies. He has made a study of the philosophies of Tamil Nadu with special reference to the Buddhist philosophies of the medieval period. He has published a work entitled "Anthology of Old Tamil Philosophical poetry." He has written numerous articles on the history of South Indian religions and philosophical systems and the mutual influence of South Indian and North Indian cultures. He has also translated some Tamil legends entitled "Bewitched Jackals."

main novel feature in which he engaged himself and excelled is the study of stress and accent of Tamil words in current use. He has seven works to his credit. Associated with him in similar studies was Glasov Yakovlevitch. Rudin died prematurely in a boat accident in 1974.

A number of Tamil short-stories of South Indian and Sri Lankan origin have been translated into Russian. Svetlana Trubnikova is one who has translated a number of these works.

The Indus Valley script posed a problem in Indian studies for a long time.

borne as suggested by some other scholars. A. M. Kondratov in his book "The Riddle of the Three Oceans", under the chapters on the Indian Ocean has done extensive study of Dravidian civilization. He has cited Sri Lankan sites too and said that the Dravidian civilization is one of the oldest if not the oldest. In fact he has ventured to suggest that South India is the cradle of human civilization. Prof. Borgard Lenin of Moscow University, an expert on Indian History claims that there were intercourse between India of the Indus period and the

by

A. Theva Rajan

M. Papkina has done some work on Tamil folklore and *Bharata Natya*. Bularkin has published a work entitled "The role of the Tamils in the evolution of South East Asian Economy." Some of the works of *Bharati*, the poet of Tamil renaissance of the 20th century have been translated by Irina Smirnova into Russian. Commenting on these translations of *Bharati's* works, a great critic Vladimir Makarenko has highly praised *Bharati*. Prof. E. P. Selishev has done a special research on *Bharati* and has said that it opens a new era in Indian literature.

Semyon G. Rudin is a linguist and has done several researches and published numerous articles. One of his noteworthy works is "The semantics of the Tamil Language." The first part deals with words and rules governing them. He extracts words separately as seen in the grammatical and spoken use. In part two he deals with the words as enriched and

A Soviet team headed by Y. Knorozov delved into this riddle and brought out some findings in 1965 which show that the language of the script is Dravidian — i.e. Proto-Dravidian or Tamil. They were assisted by B. Y. Volsok, G. V. Alexiev, A. Propstu and A. M. Kondratov. They collected material necessary and with the assistance of the Computer came to the conclusion that the script is Proto-Dravidian or Tamil. Their work was highly praised by Tatyana Kadamina and V. Kurov, two leading Indologists in the journal *Anthropology*. Incidentally, a Finnish team led by Asko Parpola also analysed the Indus script with computer assistance and came to the same conclusions as the Russian team, in 1968. The Indian epigraphist Iravatham Mahadevan came to the same conclusions although he differed in methodology, in late seventies.

In the field of history, Dr. (Mrs.) Shaposhnikova

Central Asian countries. He says that normal relationship between India and Trukmania existed as early as 3000 B.C. The discovery of Asoka's edict and cave-remains in Afghanistan is proof of relationship between the two countries in 2nd century B.C. and that Buddhism spread to Central Asian countries, during this period. He also maintains that Indian Buddhist artefacts depict Central Asian influence.

Cultural plurality

Russia, like India, is a paradise of cultures and cultural synthesis. And today, all civilized nations are accommodating cultural plurality—a norm accepted by the United Nations. Today, Tamil is not merely a subject of study at the Russian Universities and other Institutions, it is a subject of research. Even doctorates are being awarded even to foreign students to do advanced Tamil studies in the Soviet Union today.

JAFFNA SOCCER NEWS

Victor Kiruparaj reports :

The Jaffna Schools' Soccer 'friendlies' as well as the Schools Tournament Matches are all in full swing.

The Patrician First Eleveners with an unblemished record, continued in their winning streak when they swamped home to a runaway 6-1 win over St. Henry's College in the annual 'friendly' played on last Friday on St. Partick's grounds.

St. John's First Eleven Soccerites who beat Hartley 3-0 went down to Jaffna College, Vaddukkodai, by a solitary goal 0-1.

Jaffna Central taking on Urumpirai Hindu in a friendly figured in an exciting 3-3 after they (Centralites) had trailed 1-3 for a little over thirty five minutes of the sixty minute period. Jaffna Central came back into the game during the second period with renewed vim and vigour to score twice, to level terms—one off a penalty 'spot' kick and the other off a lightning move—Paul Prahalathan giving the finishing touches to it.

The Jaffna Schools First, Second and Third Eleven Soccer Tournaments have commenced. The First Eleven ties got under way on last Friday. Skanda

Varodaya First Eleveners, in the curtain raiser, made mincemeat of reputed Jaffna Hindu College to overwhelm them by 6 goals to 1. The winners led 1-0 at the breather. In another First Eleven engagement, Nadeswara College got the better of Vasavilan M.M.V. by 3 goals to 1 after having shared two goals at lemons.

In a scrappy First Eleven game, Kokuvil Hindu got the better of Mahajana College by 1 goal to 0. The second half was scoreless. Mahajana's reputation was at stake when they virtually played like novices.

In another First Eleven Tournament match, Urumpirai Hindu, after having trailed 0-1 for the first 25 minutes equalised 1-1 at lemons and booted in three more at regular intervals in the second half to beat Victoria College by 4 goals to 1. Victoria which appeared to hold the whip-hand during the first period made the crucial error of falling back on the defensive during the second half. This lapse forced them to concede three more goals in the second period and the match.

Among the Schools' Second Eleven Tournament matches, Jaffna Central started off with a bang when they trounced Victoria College, Chulipuram by 9 goals to 0. The Centralites however, came

to grief in their second engagement when Vasavilan M.M.V. edged through to a narrow 1-0 win over them. It was a well earned win for the Vasavilan lads.

The Third Eleven Schools matches saw Jaffna Central score a facile 4-0 win over Victoria College. Taking on Vasavilan M.M.V. in their second engagement the Centralites figured in a narrow 1-0 win over their opponents.

In three other Second Eleven Tournament matches, Osmania triumphed over Vaideeswara 4-0. Jaffna Hindu figured in an exciting 4-4 draw against Urumpirai Hindu. Kokuvil Hindu drew Vasavilan M.M.V. 0-0.

In three other Third Eleven engagements completed, Osmania overwhelmed Vaideeswara 4-0, Jaffna Hindu edged through to a close 3-2 win over Urumpirai Hindu. Kokuvil Hindu figured in a goalless 0-0 draw against Vasavilan MMV.

ATTACK ON MAIL TRAIN AGAIN

Passengers who travelled by the Jaffna-Colombo mail train on Friday (29.10.82) night were severely assaulted between Paranthan and Madawachchi. The assaults, the victims report, were carried out by men in civies who travelled by the same train.

Inaction on Kugathasan killing deplored

The Arasanga Kooduthapana Ooliyar Sangam (a Trade Union of Tamil Employees of State Corporations) has written to the Chairman of the National Paper Mills Corporation deploring the inaction by the Corporation in tracing and punishing the killers of Trade Unionist N. Kugathasan at the Embilipitiya Paper Mills Factory on 11.8.1981.



Kugathasan

The General Secretary of the Union, Mr. A. S. Moorthy, has asked the Chairman for information on the following: How many persons have been arrested as suspects in Kugathasan's murder and what are their names? How many persons were questioned and released after questioning or arrests? Who are the persons wanted by the Police or the army in connection with this killing? Who are the officers entrusted with the investigation?

UNEXPLODED BOMB GOES TO COLOMBO

The unexploded bomb found in the premises of the Chavakachcheri Police Station was taken to Colombo with security precautions for analysis. Attempts by bomb disposal experts to explode the bomb at Chavakachcheri failed.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 9)

the 47,780 voters, who wish to remain as faithful and obedient servants.

Thavathiru Kunrakkudi Adigalar once said that anything that cannot be sold elsewhere could be disposed easily among the Tamils as the Tamils never verify the genuineness of the stuff they buy. This could be confirmed by the

fact that the Tamils have opened branches for all the Sinhala Political Parties but not a single branch for the TULF, TELF, Congress, could be found among the Sinhalese. The reason is that most of the Tamils prefer leadership, fame and money to self-respect or independence.

How will it be possible for any freedom fighting party in the North to win freedom or any other demands under these circumstances?

Yours faithfully,
T. Thiagarajah.

Announcement.

S-Lon Plumbers Training Course.

The first such course has commenced at Mt. Lavinia. Repeat course will be conducted in selected towns islandwide. Those interested should apply to



S-LON TRAINING COURSE, 54, Bankshall Street, Colombo 11.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

C. R. M. raises the alarm over the proposed referendum

The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka has sent an urgent telegram to President Jayawardene urging the abandonment of his proposal to extend the life of Parliament by six years.

At an emergency meeting of the Working Committee of CRM on 28th October it was resolved that the proposal was 'ill considered' and 'threatened the very basis of democratic parliamentary government'. The CRM also said that the proposal is in breach of Sri Lanka's obligations under the International Covenant of civil and political rights and negates the gains of 50 years of universal franchise. The referendum is no substitute

for a general election, says the telegram signed by Mr. Desmond Fernando, Secretary of CRM.

In a statement issued subsequently the CRM has given 21 reasons for urging the government to abandon the proposal and protect the people's political rights and heritage.

C. I. D. CALLERS

Eight members of the Police C.I. D. Team called at the residence of Mr. M. K. Eelaventhana, Organizing Secretary of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front and searched the premises on Thursday. They took away about 15 books including one with the title, 'Non-violence and Tamil liberation' written by Kanapathipillai Sathithanatham.

Government muzzles another newspaper

The Government has sealed the office and the premises of the Communist Party oriented Sinhala Daily, the 'Aththa' using its powers under the state of emergency. This is the second paper to be muzzled within the last fortnight. It will be remembered that the Jaffna based Tamil political journal 'The Suthanthiran' was sealed by the Jaffna Police on election night, October 20th. Both papers were sealed under Regulation 14 (3) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions Powers) Regulations No. 2 of 1982 on an order signed by the Secretary of the Ministry of State, Mr. Douglas Liyanage.

While in the case of 'The Suthanthiran' no reasons were given for the sealing, the Government action against 'The Aththa' has been taken for reasons that 'it would be prejudicial to the interests of public security, the preservation of public order and the maintenance of supplies essential to the life of the community'.

T.E.L.F. man in Batti remanded

Yogan Kannamuthu, a member of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front in Batticaloa who was arrested by the Police on a charge of attempting to print an anti-government leaflet was remanded by the Batticaloa Magistrate, Mr. Nimal Disanayake, until the 10th.

The Police objecting to a request for bail said that inquiries have not been completed and that the grant of bail may cause a breach of peace in Batticaloa.

Will half a dozen of the Ministerial heads roll?

How many ministerial heads—and whose — will roll, as a sequel to the recently concluded Presidential election?

This is the latest guessing game among political circles who predict that though all the ministerial necks have been stretched out on the block, the Presidential axe will fall selectively and that too only after the referendum, in December.

Some political observers think that more than half a dozen Ministers will be 'beheaded'.

Among those being mentioned as likely to be 'chopped' are Industries Minister Cyril Mathew (who is tipped to be sent abroad as an Ambassador), Justice Minister Nissanka Wijeratne and Rural Development Minister Mrs. Wimala Kannangara.

There is a lot of speculation too about the likely fate of the Eastern Province duo—Home Affairs Minister

K. W. Devanayagam and Regional Development Minister C. Rajadurai.

Some political observers forecast that both Ministers will be axed, following the UNP's poor performance in Batticaloa. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress Presidential candidate Kumar Ponnambalam—a virtual political loner, without any big guns to back him up—gave a fright to President Jayawardene who just managed to scrape through with the narrowest majority between the first and second candidates in any electorate. President Jayawardene polled 48,094 votes in Batticaloa while Kumar notched up 47,095 votes—a difference of just 999.

The water-thin majority, these observers point out, is a clear indication that both these Ministers have lost whatever political clout they had in the area and have become liabilities to the Government—which has no alternative now but to dump them.

Other observers however feel President Jayawardene may retain Minister Devanayagam, in view of his seniority in the party and for services rendered in the past. But Minister Rajadurai, they say, will have to pay the price for having failed to live up to expectations. When Minister Rajadurai was lured to defect from the TULF, they point out, the Government thought it had landed a prize catch; now it finds it has been saddled with a political deadweight. So it's curtains for Minister Rajadurai, according to these observers.

The new Cabinet which is likely to emerge after the referendum will, according to knowledgeable political observers, consist of some old faces, some old—new faces—mostly deserters from the SLFP—and new faces like the University Grants Commission Chairman, Dr. Stanley Kalpage: he is tipped to be the Minister for Higher Education.

If T. U. L. F. M. P. s go for Amity talks!

