

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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MILITARY RULE

All Over Sri Lanka

What we find in the North since 30th November 1984 is unbridled military rule, with the civilian population at the mercy of the security forces.

On that day, a new set of draconian emergency regulations came into force which converted the North into a virtual prison. Now, there are ominous signs that, making the Anuradhapura tragedy the excuse, President Jayewardene's government might extend this sort of rule to the rest of the island as well.

The President himself gave a hint when he told the UNP's Parliament-

ary Group recently that if necessary he would even impose martial law.

For what? To combat 'terrorism'. Where? In the South, of course.

After the Anuradhapura episode, the fear has been dinned into the people in the South by official spokesmen that Tamil militants might strike deeper into Sinhalese territory, including even Colombo.

What we suspect is that by exploiting this fear the Government plans to tighten its hold on the South, where there is seething discontent over economic issues and the

demand for the resignation of the Government is gathering momentum.

Our suspicions are buttressed by the fact that the President has decided to grant 'Presidential executive powers' to MP's again to take 'anti-terrorist' measures.

Apart from the constitutional propriety of the proposed step, this could lead to a dangerous situation where Government MPs could move against opponents in their electorates.

The people of the South and Opposition leaders should be alive to this dangerous threat and build up public opinion to make the Government retreat.

TULF Rejects Prov. Councils

The leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has indicated that it cannot accept Provincial Councils as a solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, according to reports from Delhi.

They have emphasised that the only viable solution is one acceptable to the Tamil militant groups. After so much loss of life and property, Provincial Councils were unacceptable, they are reported to have pointed out.

The TULF leader, Mr. M. Sivasingham, Secretary-General Mr. A. Amirthalingam and Mr. R. Sampanthan, ex-MP for Trincomalee were in New Delhi recently for talks with top Indian officials, including the Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathy.

K'KADDUVAN SLAUGHTER: G A WANTS DETAILS

The Government Agent, Jaffna, has called for particulars of the passengers killed on 15th May on board the launch Kumuthini, plying between Delft and Kurrikadduvan, to be submitted immediately through the respective Asst. Govt. Agents.

ALWIS CONDEMNS BBC

Cabinet spokesman, Minister Anandathissa de Alwis, has condemned the British Broadcasting Corporation for spreading anti-Sri Lanka propaganda. He said the BBC correspondent had sent reports about the Anuradhapura incident from Jaffna.

VVT SCHOOL CLOSED

Chiddambara College, Valvetururai, has been closed down and the staff and students transferred to Sivaguru Vidyalayam. Considerations of safety prompted this move, according to officials.

WAITING FOR A SOLUTION

Will the Rajiv-JR summit meeting tomorrow (2nd June) pave the way for a permanent solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem?

The answers range from a guarded optimism to a pessimistic 'no'. In between are those, like Rural Small Industries Minister S. Thondaman, who say 'Let's wait and see'.

The optimists point out that the summit meeting—coming, as it does, on the heels of Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari's second visit to Sri Lanka and just prior to Rajiv's visit to the United States—is an indication that Sri Lanka will present fresh proposals to break the deadlock.

While these proposals are being kept a secret, the 'Times of India' has reported that Colombo would like to see Delhi using India's new-

ly enacted anti-terrorist laws against Tamil militants living in Tamilnadu. It also speculated that Colombo would be willing to go beyond the district councils proposal for regional autonomy.

This, coupled with a cease-fire, could be the basis for a solution, according to some political observers.

But how far beyond the district councils proposal is President Jayewardene willing—or able—to go? How much political space has he left to manoeuvre in?

The Provincial Councils idea has already been shot down in advance by the TULF leadership, in a pre-emptive strike. While emphatically rejecting the idea of Provincial Councils, they have stressed that only a solution acceptable to the Tamil militant groups would be viable.

The TULF Secretary-General A. Amirthalingam, has also emphasised that any proposals President Jayewardene presents at the summit must have the backing of his Cabinet, the Opposition parties and public organizations.

The most important question of all is the attitude of the Tamil militant groups to these peace feelers. Are 'The Boys' ready to drop their demand for Tamil Eelam and instead opt for a package which grants the substance of their demand? Or will they adopt an 'all or nothing' attitude?

So many questions!

On the answers depend whether Sunday's summit will lead to a permanent solution or to a 'final solution'.

The Only Wholly Government - Censored Newspaper in Sri Lanka

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KIRAN EXPLOSION

In a landmine explosion at Kiran near Valaichchenai, five Police Commandos were killed and seven injured. The jeep in which they were travelling was badly damaged.

THEATRE GUTTED

Regal Theatre—one of the oldest in Jaffna—was gutted by fire, during the curfew, in the early hours of Sunday morning (19th).

ANURADHAPURA HERO

*We salute you Major!
For, you are a true Soldier
Justice, Compassion, Courage displayed,
That Political Thugs betrayed.*

*Many like you in North and East,
Civilians will be glad to meet,
Innocent lives will be there to stay,
And Ethnic Problem will vanish away.*

*Thou hast protected Buddhism,
When many destroyed by Egoism,
May the Triple Gem bless you,
Come from A' pura, here will you.*

N. Sadayan

MONITORING COMMITTEE EXPRESSES RESERVATIONS

The Project Monitoring Committee of the University of Jaffna which is pressing on with its investigation of the building programme expressed further reservations on the work done so far, at its last meeting.

The District Engineer (North) Buildings said that there was no progress at all on the work on the Library building. He added particularly that sometimes he could see the students returning from the Library, because of lack of seats.

The S.E., N.D. said that he has given enough warning to the contractor they can terminate the contract with another final notice.

Bursar said that he had advanced some money to purchase some fans, but only a part of the consignment had been brought to the site. The Registrar asked the Contractor's representative whether it is true and the contractor's representative replied that he does not know about this matter. The Works Engineer said that this matter has already been referred to the Consultants.

The Committee decided that

- The money advanced for the purchase of fans should be recovered from the bill of the Auditorium;
- final notice should be issued to the Contractor.

Work on stage II of the Arts Faculty building has also stalled. The contractor told the Committee that owing to the prevailing disturbed conditions in the District, he was facing difficulties in getting the necessary materials, especially steel and sand.

The contractor was requested to proceed with the work immediately.

The Committee was informed that the Department of Buildings had to call for fresh tenders for the construction of the Student Centre as the former successful tenderer was not keen to take up the work.

SARC FIASCO

The fact that a Minister of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Government made a scathing attack on Sri Lanka's Government in the Indian Parliament is no justification for Sri Lanka to have threatened to pull out of the budding South Asian Regional Co-operation Organisation.

This bilateral issue could have been solved at a different level.

That saner counsels prevailed and Sri Lanka participated in the SARC's deliberations in Bhutan is

a plus point for the Jayewardene Government.

But we must not forget that within weeks after the inaugural meeting of the SARC in Colombo, Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa rushed to Bangkok with an application for Sri Lanka to join the pro-American Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Which super-power wishes to see this SARC wither away because it regards the new grouping as a potential threat to its economic interests. Is Sri Lanka acting as its pawn?

Bishops Under Fire

The Catholic Students' Union of the University of Jaffna has sent a protest letter to Bishop Frank Marcus Fernando criticising his statement on the Anuradhapura massacre which runs thus:

"We strongly record our protest against the statement issued by the Bishops' Conference against the attack on civilians at Anuradhapura, at a time when they haven't raised their voice against the rape, arson, looting and killing of innocent Tamil civilians at Valvettiturai carried out by the Security Forces. Such a one sided statement would prove the Bishops' Conference to be racist and chauvinistic."

NEWS BRIEFS

BHIKKU SATYAGRAHA

Nearly 500 Buddhist Monks staged a satyagraha near Parliament at Sri Jayewardenepura on 23rd May.

The Bhikkus planned to stage a protest march to Parliament but were intercepted and stopped midway. They handed over a memorandum to Ministers and M.Ps.

HAYDEN BACKS POLITICAL SOLUTION

Bill Hayden the Australian Foreign Minister, who was on a short visit to Sri Lanka recently, told a Press Conference that there should be a political solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem. He said that President Jayewardene should accept the fact that there was indiscipline in the armed forces. Mr. Hayden denied that there was any truth in the reports that money was being collected in Australia for the Tamil extremists.

BLOWN UP

The Batticaloa Education Office was flattened by a bomb blast in the early hours of May 22nd morning. The blast was heard nearly ten miles away. The building was to have been occupied by the Army, according to reports.

GUARD POST ATTACKED

Two policemen were killed and three injured in a surprise attack on the Mannampitiya bridge Police Guard Post by a group of unidentified persons.

GURUNAGAR INCIDENT

A youth was shot dead and a father of seven children injured in an incident at Gurunagar on 21st May after-noon.

Following the shooting several persons, including some girls, were taken in for questioning by the Army.

THONDAMAN PROTESTS

Rural Industries Minister S. Thondaman met President Jayewardene on 22nd May and vehemently protested against any move to forcibly evacuate Tamils from the Cheddikulam area. He had pointed out that many of the residents of the area were refugees from the up-country.

The ideals, the historical background and the operational methods of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation which is commonly known as the EROS, can be reviewed here.

It is a veritable fact that the EROS is a formidable organisation among the militants who are striving and struggling to achieve the liberation of the Tamil-speaking people of Eelam. On November 23rd 1975 the Eelam Research Organisation declared, after analysing in a scientific way the problems of the Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking masses and the problems they would encounter in the future, that the only solution was to establish a separate state, Eelam, which is the aspiration of the Tamil-speaking masses.

This declaration further stated that the proposed separate state should extend from Point Pedro to Badulla and Mannar to Batticaloa, including Pottuvil. All the people living in this region, irrespective of their social, religious and regional differences, will be categorised as Eelavar.

This Organisation has been mobilising the entire Tamil-speaking masses against the aggressive Sri Lankan Government around one motive, "We are Eelavar; our language is Tamil; our nation is Eelam".

The determined policy of the EROS is to create Eelam where the interest of the working classes will be cared for and equality and social justice will be guaranteed to each and everyone.

The Tamil speaking masses living in the hill country are undergoing severe reprisals because they speak Tamil, and encountering drastic economic hardships and are being alienated in their own land for which they have toiled and moiled for centuries. Hence the EROS is determined to incorporate a part of the hill country in Eelam.

The EROS considers that the Eelam revolution is part and parcel of the international working class struggle and it will never hesitate to identify itself with the progressive forces of the world and oppressed people fighting for liberation.

The liberation struggle of Eelam is a dynamic challenge to imperialist America and its henchmen who are trying to establish themselves in the region of the Indian Ocean. The EROS believes that the restoration of international peace is only possible through the victory of the international working class.

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation was born in London on 23rd November, 1975 to implement these ideals. The EROS was able to solicit the constructive support of international liberation organisations

EROS ETHOS

tions at the very outset because of the enormous support for its ideals.

Comrades who received military training abroad believed that they could implement their ideals through socio-economic plans.

Co-operative model farms were set up with the help of Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation to rehabilitate the people who were driven from the hill country to the Northern and Eastern Provinces during communal riots that broke out in 1977 August. Special mention can be made about Kennedy Farm which was one of the farms set up during that time. Unlike daily wages paid on other farms, this model farm operated on the basis of united efforts. In order to help the farm workers, a co-operative shop and a children's creche were set up.

Though the dissension was a setback to the operational functions of the EROS, it has never been an impediment in the progressive activities of the organisation.

The EROS consists of various functional organisations, such as the Eelam Research Organisation, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation, the Eelam Repatriate Organisation and Economic Rehabilitation Organisation.

The Eelam Research Organisation consists of academicians who are engaged in political research and political publications. "Lanka Rani", "Neo Colonialism in the 20th century" "Redemption of Eelavar" "A case against Jayewardene Government" were published.

Today's statement is by the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS).

This is the fifth in the series of policy statements of the Tamil militant groups that the SATURDAY REVIEW proposes to publish in order to let the world know their thinking because, so far, little has been published in the Sri Lanka media about the aims and objectives of these groups.

The publication of these statements is in no way an endorsement of their contents by the SATURDAY REVIEW.

A small sum of money was paid as incentive. A co-operative farm was experimented here. In spite of the fact that the farm was attacked by the Army in 1978 and 1979, a conducive atmosphere was created to allow the people to continue their normal living.

Likewise when the Eastern Province was devastated by a cyclone in 1978, the service of the volunteer force was used to assist the victims.

It has been the ideal of the EROS to politicise the masses through the volunteers and pioneers who are engaged in this sort of socio-economic projects.

The front-liners of the EROS, who had been operating in this manner, had a bitter experience in 1980. Rivalry in the leadership, operational crises and the differences in opinion about policies are contributory factors that created dissension among the front-liners.

The General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), the student body of EROS, rejected the leadership of the EROS and established a separate leadership for it, known as the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

A series of seminars are also being conducted through this organisation. "EROS" a periodical, is being published in English by this group in London to propagate the Eelam cause internationally. The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation pays its attention to politicise the people and to prepare them for an armed struggle. To politicise the masses for an armed struggle, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation has been publishing a Tamil periodical "Tharkeekam" (Dialectic) from 1980.

At the same time "Pothumai" (General Views), a Tamil publication is being published from 1982.

"Eelam", a monthly Tamil magazine is being published to disseminate knowledge of the Tamil Eelam here and abroad.

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation is implementing certain strategies and tactics to militarise comrades who have been politicised. The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation believes that by careful planning and attacking economic targets that are bound to crumble the oppressive chauvinist state, it can make the mercenary soldiers to withdraw. According to this plan, the military operations waged so far have been

done in such a way as to create immense economic ruin immediately and in the long run.

The other attacks have been done with the following motives: to spread to other parts of Sri Lanka the Army that has been concentrated in the territory of Eelam, to demoralise the forces by this activity, to temporarily end the continuous harassment of the Tamil-speaking people, to make the Sinhalese people understand our armed struggle and distract the government.

While continuously implementing such military tactics, it is also involved in preparing the Tamil-speaking people for a mass struggle. The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation is, in the above manner, preparing itself for a mass uprising.

The General Union of Youths and Students (GUYS), the student body of the EROS, is involved in propagating knowledge among the students of Eelam. GUYS publishes two periodicals "Nankal" (WE) in Tamil and 'GUYS' in English which publish mainly the contributions of students.

GUYS is a student organisation that has accepted on the level of awareness the policies and theory of the EROS and functions under its leadership and its programme ranges from mobilising a revolutionary student body making them cadres of the Organisation.

GUYS is leading internationally in the operation of spreading its organisation and mobilising all students' organisations. GUYS is creating among the students and youth an awareness of the practical problems involved in the struggle. At the same time it is paying special attention in creating students who will reflect a complete awareness of matters relating to Eelam in whichever part of Eelam they may live. It is involved in the task of making comrades of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation.

The Eelam Repatriate Organisation is concerned about the problems confronting the people who are being expatriated compulsorily through the Sirima-Shastri pact. Meanwhile it is engaged in setting up socio-economic projects.

The EROS is the amalgamation of all these organisations and it flourishes as the supreme force of these organisations.

STATE TERRORISM ON A GLOBAL

(Continued from last issue)

Superexploitation of labor from the occupied territories forms part of the ladder of exploitation which includes Arabs inside Israel as well as the country's majority population of Sephardic Jews, who also suffer discrimination and receive substandard wages. The Israeli monopoly of the market in the occupied territories, which constitute a major share of her foreign trade, is another fruit of occupation.

Under Israeli occupation, legislation is an instrument of control; existing legislation and economic measures are manipulated and new laws created to safeguard control. The use of development funds for reward and punishment also forms part of the system of control. To circumvent popularly elected local leadership, a system of "quislings" has been called into being, utilizing kinship ties and clan structures to create agents of the military Government among the population. In 1979 the "Village Leagues" were created for this purpose in the West Bank, equipped with their own "security forces": "They patrol streets at night; they attack cars and homes of outspoken nationalist Palestinians; and they attack nationalist institutions (as they did recently with Bethlehem University)". From "reprisal actions" to "collective punishment" Israel has been demonstrating growing expertise at "frontier justice". A 1977 *Sunday Times* investigation concluded that torture by Israeli security services is systematic.

In November 1981, the second Begin government instituted a civil administration in the West Bank. Installed in the wake of Begin's campaign rhetoric about *Eretz Israel* (the Land of Israel—Eds.), and simultaneously with efforts to uproot all expressions of Palestinian national resistance and to move the maximum number of Jews into settlements across the "green line," the civil administration was interpreted in the West Bank as a step "to pave the way for the annexation of the occupied territories and tie them directly to the various Israeli ministries." Hence it was greeted with a massive boycott and demonstrations, which in turn unleashed an unprecedented wave of repression in the West Bank. "Demonstrations in the first months of 1982 resulted in more Arab casualties than had fallen in all previous 15 years

of occupation." At the time, settler vigilantes became more actively involved in doing the "dirty work" of the occupation, displaying greater brutality than the Israeli Defence forces (IDF) in forcing the Palestinians into submission or departure.

Rabbi Meir Kahane and the Kach party, Gush Emunin and Terror Against Terror (TNT), may be dismissed in Israel as a "lunatic fringe," in contrast to the rationality and moderation of the Israeli mainstream; yet they echo the same themes that are upheld by the mainstream, and differ only in that they advocate more drastic variations on them. In a poll of September 1981, only 19% opposed continued colonization of the

that the Ashkenazim (European or U.S. born Israelis—Eds.) would not give them at the expense of the Palestinians. Thus they are tempted into the West Bank settlements, there they are offered the better housing not available to them in Israel. In opting for the "strategy of tension," Likud is the more extremist party, but in fact it is following in the footsteps of Labor who led the way through the deliberate creation of a siege mentality in Israel society. As Moshe Dayan said about the 'reprisal actions' of the 1950s: They...help us maintain a high tension among our population and in the army." The Likud has been reaping the fruits of the "high tension" sowed by Labor.

of May 29. At the time, between 1977 and 1981 (the Carter administration years), Israel was the sole arms supplier to Guatemala. The presence of Israeli advisers, along with Argentinians, was reported in 1981, at the time of the Garcia Government's July offensive.

Months later, in Israel, General Benditto Garcia, Lucas' brother, chief of staff of the Guatemalan Army, attributed the government's military success to Israel's assistance. He explained: "We appreciate Israel; we see the Israeli at the best soldier in the world today, and we look to him as a model and an example to us." A sturdy compliment, considering that the Guatemalan Army itself has displayed considerable skill in dealing with Guatemala's "demographic problem"—the number of persons, mainly Indians, assassinated or "disappeared" is estimated at 60,000 over the past 15 years, and the number of refugees from Guatemala is put at 150,000 in Mexico alone, not counting the tens of thousands of refugees inside Guatemala and in Honduras. Since 1981, the emphasis has been on "civic action" as the means to "pacify the country"; as a *New York Times* report notes:

Schools and health clinics are built under "civic action" programs. Unfortunately, large numbers of peasants are often killed to deny the guerrillas their support.

A recent development, in conjunction with the "model villages", is the creation of "civilian patrols" of villagers coerced into participating in local vigilante groups, a feature that is reminiscent of the West Bank.

Another country with a "demographic problem" is South Africa. The congruence between apartheid and Zionism has been conspicuous enough to attract the attention of the U.N. General Assembly (1975). Both South Africa and Israel have turned questions of land and "demography" (to abide by the Israeli euphemism) into national obsessions and have devised elaborate systems of repression and discrimination around them. Both view themselves as "outposts of western civilization"; both are wont to claim Biblical justification and enjoy the support of organized religion domestically (though not unanimously); both are national security states with a broad emphasis on counter insurgency and methods of psychological warfare. The parallels extend to the finer print as well, as with South Africa's pass laws, and Israel's special IDs for Arabs (stamped with a "B") and

By

Jan Pieterse

West Bank. Kahane in *They Must Go*, meaning Arabs, is voicing, more loudly and shrilly, the same demographic problem that has been the continuous preoccupation of Israeli administrations: "Should we allow demography, and democracy to push Israel closer to the abyss?" Kahane is advocating overtly what at least a part of the Israeli power structure has been practising covertly. As recently revealed in a trial, the bombing attacks on three Arab mayors in 1980 involved Israeli Army officers in the West Bank military government, as well as leading rabbis in the settler movement connected to the Tehiya Party. "It is quite safe to assume," according to Adam Keller, "that until mid-1983 a clear government policy of benevolent non-interference with the terrorists was followed". Prior to the trial Prime Minister Shamir warned: "Don't touch our messiahs who are creating historical facts for generations to come."

This is an environment that nourishes extremism: one where the demographic obsession looms so large—founded on the conception of Israel as a Jewish State, constantly replayed as Likud's favourite melody—and where sectarianism is promoted as state religion. The theme of race ("demography") is being replayed so as to avoid dealing with questions of class, in particular the slumbering ire of the discrimination of the Sephardim (Oriental Jews). The Sephardim are being used as a pawn in the game, put to sleep with a cult of Jewishness as a substitute for justice, and lured into thinking that they should obtain the justice

After this brief review of Israel's methods in her domestic environment, we may be in a better position to assess Israel's contribution overseas, and to look at the situation of some of the recipients of Israel's security assistance in light of the Israeli experience.

The Export of Israeli Methods

The struggle in Guatemala is rooted in a familiar problem—they wanted the land but not the people. The land, to grow coffee and cotton, not the people, because they Indians. Through the past 450 years, the majority Indian population has continually been experiencing the loss of their land. Landless, they add to the cheap labor pool. Several years ago groups of Indians migrated to the jungles of the North. Once oil and nickel and other minerals were found, they began to be dislocated from there also, even their cheap labor ceased to be in demand any longer. Thus, Guatemala has a "demographic problem."

We again encounter a configuration of policies similar to Israel involving land, domination and exploitation, population policy and terror. The military, as part of the oligarchy, looms large in all these spheres, as a landowner in its own right, through military governments, and through methods of population control which involve terror as a strategy including the wholesale slaughter of entire villages. Following the presidential elections that established the power of General Lucas Garcia in 1978, terror was unleashed notably with the massacre of Panzós

SCALE : THE ROLE OF ISRAEL

requirements for travel passes in the occupied territories. South Africa's homeland policy exhibits a similar architecture of domination combined with racial arithmetic as applied by Israel; Transkei, for example, is characterized by "physical fragmentation of territory, combined with ethnic dispersal." The extensive military, political, and economic cooperation between the two countries has been frequently reported on; of interest at this point are the parallels between their policies vis-a-vis their surrounding respective front-line confrontation states.

Reciprocating South African assistance in the October 1973 war (South Africa sent a squadron of Mirages), Israel sent two dozen officers as experts on 'anti-terrorist' tactics to South Africa in 1974. In 1975, Israeli officers took part in drawing up South African plans for invading Angola. The invasion of Angola in 1975 conformed to the

strategy of the "pre-emptive strike"—attacking guerrilla forces in their bases across borders—as practiced earlier by Rhodesian defense forces in their forays into Zambia and Mozambique. However, the South African invasion was not just aimed against SWAPO bases but, in fact, at Luanda, in order to install UNITA in the center of power. In this objective it failed, due to Cuban intervention.

South Africa's efforts to make Angola pay a high price for its support of South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and to remove the African National Congress (ANC) from neighbouring countries, are similar to Israel's efforts to drive the PLO out of Lebanon. As South Africa sponsors the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) in Mozambique and jointly with the CIA, the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) in Angola, so Israel

maintains a presence in Lebanon through the "Army of South Lebanon" of Major-General Antoine Lahd (the successor of Major Hadad); moreover, since 1976, Israel has been supplying the Falangists with arms. When Israel went into Lebanon in June 1982, it was also with a dual objective: to destroy the institutional bases of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and, with U.S. backing, to push through to Beirut to see to the "Falangization" of Lebanon. In the latter objective it failed. Encouraged by Israel's advance into Lebanon, the South Africans have invaded Angola anew and are now holding on to their positions in southern Angola, just as Israel is maintaining her positions in southern Lebanon. In Lebanon, Israel applied the strategy that General Haig, through 1981, was advocating in relation to Central America—"going to the source."

It was in these terms that Richard Allen, U. S. National Security Ad-

viser, defended Israel's invasion of Lebanon: "Reaching to the source is generally recognized as not pursuit of a sort, and therefore justified." Claiming Nicaragua to be the "source" of the Salvadoran insurgency, the United States has, since December 1981, been practising the same approach in Central America. Israeli assistance on this front consists of military-sales to Honduras and acting as a back-up source of assistance to *contras*, in case U.S. aid would be cut off due to Congressional restrictions. In a visit to Honduras, former Defense Minister Sharon offered weapons captured from the PLO free of charge, if transportation costs would be paid. Thus the Middle East, southern Africa, and Central America—three major "regions of instability," according to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff—are interconnected in at least as many ways as Washington—Tel Aviv—Pretoria are.

(Continued in next issue)

WE SHALL BE BASE FOR PROGRESSIVE SINHALA FORCES: NLFT

(NLFT Statement continued from last issue)
ECONOMIC POLICY

Our economic policies and programme shall be evolved in accordance with the aim of building a people democratic social set up. Complete liberation shall be achieved from the clutches of neo-colonialism and the remnant of feudalism.

The banks, transport services, heavy industries and all other services shall be brought under the control of the state.

All the banks and the industries of Sri Lankan Government in our territory shall be brought under the state control without any compensation.

The land problems of the peasants shall be solved through the introduction of land ceiling legislations and by redistributing the surplus land among the peasantry. The principal of land to the tiller, and to the landless shall be followed up.

In order to strengthening the national economy private small scale production shall be protected and due encouragement shall be given for further development.

The small scale production mainly agriculture and fishing shall be developed through modernisation.

Production shall be increased by utilising the native resources with the investment.

The Tamils owning industries in Sinhalese territory shall be given protection and encouragement to start production in the areas of Tamil Eelam.

The Sri Lanka Tamils abroad shall be given protection and encouragement to invest their capital voluntarily without any fear.

The private investments shall be permitted only on the condition that the welfare and the living standards of the workers be guaranteed. With this aim, the state will decide the wages and the other allowances of the workers in the private establishments.

The promotion in the standard of life of handicraftsman in villages and other handicraftsmen shall be guaranteed.

The Up Country people living in the scattered areas desirous of settling down in Tamil Eelam will be provided with facilities and amenities to live with full rights.

The taxes shall be reduced and assessed on the just basis.

The traditional territories will be liberated by driving out the Sinhalese from their planned settlements. The Sinhalese living in the areas of Tamil Eelam shall be allowed to live with democratic rights and protection.

THE POLICIES IN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SPHERES

Scientific education shall be given.

The reactionary educational system shall be abolished and an educational system useful to the people and nation shall be created.

The educational system shall be changed in order to help the production.

The peoples democratic educational systems shall be evolved. The mother tongue will be used in the educational spheres.

English will be continued in the fields of science and higher technical education, providing facilities for learning subjects through mother tongue.

The free and compulsory primary education shall be provided to all.

The feudalistic reactionary slavish culture defending the old order shall be abolished and the progressive people's democratic culture which will provide freedom and rights to all the people shall be evolved.

To eradicate the enslavement of women from all the forms such as dowry etc.

At the national level Art, Literature and culture shall be promoted with due encouragement.

Research centres for promoting science and technology shall be established.

Public institution will be established for the growth of Art, Literature and culture.

The Art, literature, cinema, journals which are destroying the thinking power of the people, the alien culture and the institutions encouraging them shall be banned.

HEALTH POLICIES

Free medical facilities shall be provided to all.

The health organisations will be regularized in the manner to reach the masses and serve their interest.

Support will be extended to all the struggles of the Sinhalese masses.

We will develop mutual cooperation by helping each other with the Sinhalese revolutionary forces and our nation shall be a base area for the fighting progressive Sinhalese forces.

Our country shall be a base for all the fighting progressive forces of the world and the support and help shall be extended.

The narrow Tamil nationalism will be curbed and it shall be assured that there will not be any aggressive activities.

A FATHER'S PLEA

The Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

Would, or could anyone help me to find the whereabouts of my eldest son or, at least, tell me what happened to him?

I am a Sri Lankan Tamil, aged 57 years, employed in a Government Department in Jaffna. I have two grown-up daughters and two sons.

My eldest son, Linus Aloysius Franklin, 30, was employed as a technical officer in the Irrigation Department.

He was last working at Semamadu, a department worksite at Vavuniya.

On 1st December 1984, Tamil militants attacked Kent Farm, Nedunkerny, a village in Mullaitivu district, a little over ten miles from the worksite and killed Sinhalese occupants.

The next day a curfew was declared and the Security Forces began operations.

The newspapers reported on 4th December that all occupants at the Irrigation Department quarters, including my son, except a lady and her children were taken away by the Security Forces two days previously.

I contacted the Irrigation Engineer, Vavuniya, on the telephone to be told that he had been officially informed that the Army had never gone to Semamadu or arrested anyone in the area.

The Government Agent of Vavuniya, too, was unable to help me to trace my son.

I visited Vavuniya on the 15th December and from information gathered from eye witnesses and others, I am convinced that my son was taken away by the Army, along with a number of others.

In the meantime, the Irrigation Department has served "vacation of post" notices to all the missing employees, when the higher-ups were well aware of what happened!

I appealed to all the authorities concerned but to no avail.

I now appeal to the S.R. to help me.

M. Linus

Kayts.

"THE HAJ"

The Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

There is one more achievement of the United National Party Government's "open door" policy. First it was the Israelis in the form of Mossad and Shinbeth coming into Sri Lanka. Now it is the book "The Haj" by Leon Uris, which portrays the Israelis as heroes and the Arabs as terrorists.

Earlier, we had the books "Exodus" and "Exodus Re-visited" by the same author.

All these books portray the thinking of the Israelis through Leon Uris; that is, only the Jews have a right to live in this world, even at the expense of other races.

But credit should go to Leon Uris, for anyone reading "Exodus" without knowing how the bastard state of Israel was formed and how the Palestinians were cheated and how they are treated now, will get the impression that the Israelis are a martyr race and champions of humanity.

It cannot be denied that the Jews were a persecuted race. Millions of Jews were sent to the gas chambers by Hitler's Germany. We also admired the determination, courage and will of the Jews who were scattered as far as Russia by Hitler's deeds, to return to their homeland. But when Israel was formed and the Palestinians deprived of their home land, all our admiration withered away.

The United Nations recognised the new state only on the basis that a Palestinian state would also be formed alongside. But to this date the UN has been unable to help the Palestinians because Israel has a co-partner in the UN—America, another so-called champion of humanity.

To-day, Israel is surviving solely on government-sponsored terrorism. The terrorist methods employed by the Israelis to subjugate the Palestinians are well known, and even those who are not well-versed in world affairs will surely know, since these "methods" have come closer home.

The Government will not ban the books of Leon Uris; so it is up to the people to boycott buying them and for the booksellers to stop selling.

B. Anandakumar

Colombo 12.

LETTERS

ANY WONDER?

The Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

"Indian Home Minister Admits Arson by Police" reads a headline and goes on to state that he condemned the act as "unbecoming of a uniformed service".

Now, Sir, may I tell you what our Ministers would say, "they never did it, they are so disciplined, it was the Tamil Terrorists who did it" and they will go on to promote them.

Is it any wonder that there is no law and order in this country?

S. Appan.

Kopay

POLICE CAPRICE

The following letter sent to the Inspector-General of Police by a S. R. reader, highlights one more case of police harassment of innocent civilians:

"The attack on the Nikaweratiya Police station by terrorists on the dawn of the 26th April brought the police once again to our home—the third time in six months. I suppose we should consider ourselves fortunate that it was not more often. Just counting my blessings to preserve my mental equilibrium. Third time also lucky that the policemen were gentlemen. Fourth time what?

"We were awaiting the arrival of our children from Matale at Nikaweratiya when the police accosted us on the fateful 26th morning. The crowd that had congregated at Nikaweratiya now started to gather round us. With one single turn of fate, the scene could have changed into a nightmare for us.

"I held my breath and watched the crowd, while my husband was taken aside into a shop to be questioned. I was not allowed to be present.

"At a time when the feelings of the people could not be fathomed, anyone—racist, arsonist or looter—could have taken the opportunity to create chaos even only with the intention of bringing discredit to the Government.

"By the recurrent investigations by the police on us, undue attention has been drawn to our identity, which may make us the targets of any future racial outbursts. The Chilaw police are also supposed to have called over on the same day and searched our land, according to reports from our workers.

"Today, 1st May, while continuing to write my letter, the Chilaw police called over, led by the ASP, for further investigations.

"The police themselves are not to blame for the part they have played, for it is obvious that the directive has come from the "top". Prevention of Terrorism Act does not even

allow us the privilege of knowing why we are suspect.

"The hug of love is so compellingly embodied in the Prevention of Terrorism Act that the Tamils cannot be even considered "second class" citizens any more. They are repudiated citizens. Mother Lanka, we weep as we are torn away from you! Do you also weep for us?

"The Sinhalese Police and the Sinhalese Army will be made to protect the Sinhalese; who will protect the Tamils, caught in the inclemencies of this terrorist war to which all Sinhalese Governments are also responsible?

"Sinhalese democratic parties have successively come into power canvassing for the Tamil vote promising the assurance of the safety of their rights. The majority of the Tamils largely clung on to the United National Party under the leadership of President Jayewardene, who have apparently failed them, for now there is a deep-throated cry among many of the militant Tamil youth for the establishment of Marxism.

"For this, let not the accusing finger be directed outwards but inwards. A man who is drowning clings on to anything, even a crocodile's tail.

"The Tamils being thus abandoned by the State authorities, does it become a question that they seek refuge in other countries? To be suspect in your own country for no reason other than to be born to the race of the offenders, what greater insult than this!

"If common courtesy could be summoned at this time when democracy is depleting, it would be appropriate that the Sinhalese Government, since they themselves cannot protect the rights of individuals being violated or infringed upon, to make arrangements for asylum in other host countries for those Tamils who desire it. A chance to forge a fresh bond. There is no need for Eelam to divide the country; suspicion has already done so."

Mrs. Lucille C. Thambiah
(nee Fernando)

Chilaw

SUPERPOWERS VIE TO WOO RAJIV

The two super powers are, from all accounts, vying with each other in wooing the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, by making a deeper impression on him during his forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington.

The Soviet Union which is apparently perturbed by the latest American efforts to placate him with offers of high technology transfer and sale of sophisticated arms, is going all out to make his Moscow visit an important landmark in the development of indo-Soviet relations.

As a sort of curtain-raiser to this visit, the Soviet Union today announced the award posthumously of Lenin Peace prize for Indira Gandhi, who will be honoured further with the dedication of a sports stadium in Moscow in her name. The Soviet hosts are drawing up the programme of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's trip in such a manner that the basic theme of continuity is highlighted at every

stage to focus attention on the fact that the son is no less devoted than his late mother to the consolidation of indo-Soviet relations.

The new Soviet leadership headed by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev is reported to be very keen on making a series of announcements during Mr. Gandhi's visit on increased Soviet assistance for India's development it is also expected to assure him of the Soviet readiness to make available all the highly sophisticated weaponry that India wants for its defence on highly competitive terms.

HAL for assembly or licensed production of different categories of transport and combat aircraft. He will also visit Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) to assess its capacity for absorption of high American technology in this field for both civil and military uses.

The Secretary of U.S. Air Force Mr. Verne Orr, who arrives next week, will probably have more detailed discussions on the requirements of Indian Air Force, while the Secretary of Commerce Mr. Malcolm Baldrige who follows later, will

sistance from the two super powers without in any way altering the delicate balance in India's relationship with them. All possible care is being taken to avoid the impression of any new tilt towards the U.S. to the detriment of its estalishree relationship with the Soviet Union.

Flexibility needed: But as a product of a different generation with a new technological vision. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to display greater flexibility in his dealings with the two super powers to ensure that India has equal access to their industrial and scientific developments. The basic intention is to obtain access to all available assistance from both of them for increasing india's self-reliance and progressively reducing the country's dependence on foreign collaboration.

The young Prime Minister with his modern bent of mind is not therefore, suspecting any sinister motives to cultivate him. He feels that it is for India to decide to what extent it should avail itself of the offers of assistance consistent with the policies of his Government it does not mean that he is going to stop protesting against increasing American military aid to Pakistan by agreeing to establish a limited arms purchase relationship with the U. S. in India's own interest.

The forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington are going to be his first major test in international diplomacy in dealing with the two super powers.

(Reproduced from the Hindu)

by

G. K. Reddy

U. S. efforts: The Reagan Administration is making a parallel bid to establish a closer relationship with India without prejudice to its on-going military assistance to Pakistan. The U.S. Under-Secretary of Defence Mr. Fred Charles Ikle, who is arriving tomorrow on a four-day visit will be meeting the Defence Minister Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Defence Secretary Mr. S. K. Bhatnagar and other senior officials of the Defence Ministry to discuss the possibilities of establishing an arms supply relationship with India through transfer of high technology and also sale of certain types of aircraft and even weapons on mutually acceptable terms.

After concluding his talks in Delhi Mr. Ikle will be going to Bangalore to get an idea of the capabilities of

review the prospects for increased Indo-U.S. trade and American investments in India in some specified spheres.

The intention is to get all this data ready for some major offers of increased American-collaboration during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington. The U.S. Government is also planning to show him the Johnson Space Centre in Houston when he flies to Texas with the Vice-President Mr. George Bush, to spend a day at his home.

A lot of preparatory work is being done simultaneously by the Ministries concerned in Delhi to enable Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to respond to the Soviet and U.S. offers of increased cooperation to the desired extent for securing the necessary as-

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SELF-DECEPTION IN POLITICS

People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political & social phrases, declarations and promises. Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the people the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished.

For a knowledge of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the socialist movement of our country.

Sinhala, Tamil and English editions of the book are available at bookshops.

Price Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies,
31, Wilson Street,
Colombo 12.

Mothers Protest

The Mothers' Front of Jaffna sent two telegrams to President Jayewardene protesting against recent events in the North.

The first telegram stated: "We vehemently protest against the rape and molesting of women on 10th and 11th May at Valvettiturai and on 13th May at Nayanmarkaddu and Kalviyankadu. Please stop the inhuman acts of the security forces on helpless women".

The second telegram stated: "Surviving passengers of the Delft-Jaffna passenger boat, with over 100 passengers, state that security personnel in boats stopped them at sea for checking and took over their identity cards and attacked them with bayonets, swords, axes and iron rods on 15th May. Thirty-four men, women and children were murdered while 30 others were admitted to Jaffna Hospital. Some of the bodies are reported to have been thrown overboard. Please stop this genocide by the Security Forces".

Inhuman Attacks Condemned

While the Thamilaelam struggle is intensifying, the chauvinist Sri Lanka government and its mercenaries have unleashed state terrorism on the Tamil People to crush their freedom struggle, states a leaflet issued by the

CENSORED.

The leaflet refers to the recent incidents at Valvettiturai, Point-Pedro, Neduntivu sea and other areas where people irrespective of age and sex, women, children, old

people and men have been killed in a most inhuman and barbarous fashion.

It also strongly condemns the recent inhuman attacks on innocent Sinhalese at Anuradhapura and Wilpattu.

It states such acts are due to the machinations of the stooges and allies of imperialism and counter-revolutionary, reactionary forces.

PT. PEDRO DEATHS

The following were shot dead recently in the Point Pedro area: Kathiravetpillai Ragupathy (18), Kuganesan Kumaresan (17), Mrs. S. Johnpillai (55), Ponnampalam Santhirakumar (21), Devasagayam Wenceslaus, Devasagayam Savundranayagam, Mariathas Sinnathamby, Selvanayagam Ramachandran and Selvanayagam Ravindran.

RAPED

A 23-year old woman from Nallur has complained to the Police that she was raped by a member of a search party in front of her 4-year old child.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

REACTIONARY CONSPIRACY?

Here are excerpts of a press statement by Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary of the Nava Samasamaja Party on the Anuradhapura Massacre:

The bloody massacre of innocent civilians at Anuradhapura smells of a ruthless conspiracy of reaction. All independent observers shake their heads in disbelief when they consider the time taken and the distance travelled by the so-called Tamil youth group, without any hindrance, during this sordid operation. For one reason or the other the authorities have totally failed to intervene.

This incident should be considered in connection with the Tamil-Muslim clashes, and several other incidents for which there is a strong suspicion that a certain right wing section within the government is responsible.

The situation is very similar to that which existed in many countries before rightwing take-overs,

where suspicion, fright and confusion reigned among the middle classes while conspiracies were being hatched within closed reactionary circles.

However there is a strong redeeming factor in the present Sri Lanka situation. That is the strength of the proletarian mass movement. In spite of these blatant reactionary provocations there is hardly any effect on the working class and workers quite correctly assume that these are reactionary machinations. In addition there is solidarity within the working class among all communities. Even Thondaman is forced to co-ordinate with anti-government Trade Unions in class issues.

The stagnation of the left movement has created an unpleasant confusion with the mass movement. The SLFP has momentarily reaped some benefit. This is dangerous when one considers their racist past.

Cheddikulam Exodus

The exodus of Tamil families from Cheddikulam continues, despite the Government's denial that it has issued any orders for the evacuation of the area. Among the evacuees are many families resident there for several generations.

Those who have quit the area state that recently loud-speaker warnings were issued asking them to leave the area soon. Even after the Government's denial of any official plan to evacuate the area, some personnel travelling along the Cheddikulam road to Mannar have reportedly intimidated the people, threatening them with severe reprisals if they don't pack up and leave.

NOTICE TO SATURDAY REVIEW SUBSCRIBERS

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THE CIRCULATION MANAGER,
SATURDAY REVIEW,
P. O. BOX 122,
JAFFNA.

DEMOCRACY'S DEATH - KNELL

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party and the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party have, in a joint statement released to the press, expressed their total opposition to the Government's proposal to declare martial law throughout the country, vest MPs with executive powers and set up a National Auxiliary Force.

Condemning these moves, the three parties have called upon the people, public organisations, political parties and trade unions to join them in their opposition.

The signatories warn that the Govt. proposals will ring the death-knell of democracy in the country. The proposed Auxiliary Force, they fear, may well become the UNP's private army.

GUARANTEE SAFETY OR CLOSE SCHOOLS

— JAFFNA PARENTS ASSOCIATION

Close down all schools in the North till the safety of the students can be guaranteed.

This was the request made by the Jaffna Parents Association when its delegation met the Government Agent Jaffna, on 24th May to hand over a memorandum addressed to President Jayewardene.

The Association has pointed out in its memorandum that after the recent incidents in the Vadamarachy area where several youths had been blasted to death and the Kurikadduvan tragedy where innocent passengers in a launch had been ruthlessly butchered, students were frightened to go to school. The parents too were very reluctant to send their children to school.

The memorandum urged the President to take steps to discipline the Security Forces and to ensure the safety of the people in general and students in particular.

Meanwhile, a delegation of Principals which met the Northern Coordinating Officer Brigadier H. Wanasingha was given the assurance that while schools were in session the movement of Security Forces in the vicinity would be restricted and searches would not be carried out.

The Brigadier also told the delegation that they had no intention of taking over any school buildings for military purposes.

The Principals pointed out to him that innocent civilians, youths and students were being arrested and tortured; some of them had even been killed, they pointed out. As a result of this, school attendance had dropped considerably.

The Brigadier told the delegation that Principals should recommend applications for fuel permits for the use of vehicles transporting school-going children and forward them to the Government Agent.

WITCH-HUNT

Nearly 150 Tamil youths who were taken into custody in various parts of Colombo in the course of a search carried out jointly by the Police and the Army on 25th May, have since been released.

The operation which began in the early hours of the morning went on for several hours.

Among those taken into custody were youths who had come to Colombo to get their passports and others due to catch scheduled flights abroad.

THIRD BRANCH

Municipal Commissioner Mr. C. V. K. Sivagnanam opened the third Branch of the Jaffna Public Library at Vannarponnai on 30th May.

10th ANNIVERSARY

The 10th death anniversary of the Tamil youth leader P. Sivakumaran falls on 5th June.

PEACE MISSION

The postponed visit of the Peace Mission from the South, sponsored by the Saturday Review, has now been tentatively scheduled to take place between 17th and 21st June. Please await further notification.

Strong-Arm Tactics Fail

The military option of the Government has failed, the Communist Party M. P. for Kalawana, Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, said in Parliament in the course of the debate on the extension of the Emergency. His party, he said, believed that the Tamils should be given equal rights with the Sinhalese. He appealed for a cease-fire on both sides and the convening of a conference between Government and separatists to negotiate a political settlement. The All Party Conference was a failure, he pointed out, because the Government had failed to implement 'Annexure C'. The position was more difficult now when the President stated that those who were not with the Govt. were 'terrorists'.

'No such thing happened', was the reply given by the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, to a point blank question raised by the Kalawana M.P. about the killing of youths at Valvettiturai.

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