

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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April 30, 1983

Detenu who died in Army

custody had 35 injuries,

AJMO tells Court

"There were twenty five external injuries and ten internal injuries in the deceased Navaratnarajah's body. The contusions in his lungs could have been caused by blows. I am of the opinion that death was due to cardio-respiratory failure, due to multiple muscle injuries and contusions of the lungs. In my opinion adequate treatment from an Institution could have saved his life." So said Dr. N. Saravanabavanathan, AJMO, submitting his medical report in the inquest held into the death of 28-year old Navaratnarajah of Trincomalee who died in Army custody at the Gurunagar Army Camp Jaffna on the 10th of April. Navaratnarajah was arrested two weeks previously on suspicion under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The inquest was held before Magistrate S. Nagarajah in Jaffna Magistrate's Court on the 27th afternoon.

P. M. encounters protesters in Paris too!

HANDS OFF GANDHIYAM was one of the placards carried by demonstrators in Paris on Prime Minister Premadasa's visit to France recently. The Eelam Tamil Association of France and the Spartacist League joined in the demonstration which was held in front of the Sri Lankan Embassy in France. This was the second occasion that the Prime Minister encountered a demonstration on his current foreign tour, the first being at Washington.

On the Sri Lankan envoy in France refusing to accept a memorandum by the demonstrators, the protest was sent by registered post to President Jayawardene in Sri Lanka.

Dr. Saravanabavanathan further said:-

"I held a Postmortem examination on the body of Kathirgamathamby Navaratnarajah on 10.4.83 at 2.30 p.m., at the General Hospital Mortuary, Jaffna.

The body was that of a young man dressed in a sarong with red horizontal stripes. A white shirt with blue stripes was found on the body. A blue striped bed sheet was also found on the body. The clothing was stained with faecal

matter. The deceased was dehydrated. He had in all 25 external injuries. There were 10 internal injuries.

I am of the opinion that death was due to cardio-respiratory failure due to multiple muscle cutaneous injuries and contusions of the lungs.

External injury No. 14 corresponded with internal injury No. 5. Internal injuries 1, 2 and 3 corresponded with external injuries Nos. 1, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17.

None of these injuries are of recent origin; they have been caused in stages 7 or 12 days before death; and this is a rough estimate within my range.

These are injuries caused by a blunt elongated weapon; it can be a club or a baton or some round object. Of the long injuries at least one on the left side which had a corresponding overlying external injury, could have been caused either by a blow or could be due to an explosion of some kind.

Injury No. 21 is 20 hours old, which is not due to a blow, but could have been caused by knocking against something or falling.

Injury on the hip could have been caused roughly about a week earlier. All contusions have been caused by a blunt weapon. Injuries Nos. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 7 and 8 have been caused by an elongated blunt weapon with a diameter of about 1/2 an inch.

(Continued on page 12)

Viewpoint

AWAY WITH THIS ABOMINABLE ACT !

We write this against the backdrop of three killings in the North yesterday, Friday the 29th April, three killings in a single afternoon. Who were the three killed? All three Tamils, all three supporters of the ruling government party, two of them heading the lists in the forthcoming local bodies' elections in the North, and all three either impervious or callous to the agonies of a society to which they belong, a society that has been increasingly groaning under the oppressive weight of Army rule, and Army terror, a society that is being denied all other human options but to kill, a society that until a few years ago was considered the most law-abiding in the whole country, a society to which the concept of violence remained a natural anathema and a people whose political philosophy of action admitted nothing else but peaceful protests and Satyagraha beginning with Galle Face Green in 1956, a people now forced to do battle against a monstrous law called the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a creation of this government—the same government which these three victims of yesterday's killing chose to support! Why did they choose to support this government? Is it out of political conviction? We would prefer to leave that question unanswered, because the people who know, know the answer; and most people know the answer to that question.

Once, at the height of anti-Negro violence in the United States, Robert Kennedy made a very perceptive observation. He said: "There is no point in telling Negroes to observe the law... It has almost always been used against them".

Laws are meant to preserve the harmony of a society. But in this country, disharmony seems the logical sequel of all laws. The only fruits of freedom that the Tamils have tasted in thirty five years of so-called freedom from colonialism, are laws that are designed to place them at a disadvantage or to oppress them.

The first of such laws was promulgated in the very year of "freedom"—the Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948, which effectively excluded a section of the Tamils from citizenship. Then came the Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Act No. 3 of 1949 and the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act No 48 of 1949 which disenfranchised a large section of Tamils. Came the Sinhala Only law in 1956, making every Tamil in this country, irrespective of what Doctorates some of them held, virtual illiterates in their land of birth. The Prevention of Terrorism Act is now over three years old. What has the government achieved by it up to now? What was the series of blunders that this government and its predecessor make which brought the present dispensation to give birth to this monster called the Prevention of Terrorism Act?

Seven years before this Act was brought into the statute book, the CEYLON DAILY NEWS wrote an editorial, under an Editor who was sensitive to the looming dangers. Under the headline "What's up in the North?" CDN said: "Since the TUF's leadership is largely drawn from the upper middle classes and professional groups and since parliament is the *raison d'être* of political movements of this type, we have really no great cause of anxiety over the TUF's threats... A movement of militant youth rooted in the soil of Jaffna and nourished by material frustration, a feeling of humiliation and bitterness, could be another kettle of fish".

That was eleven years ago. That kettle of fish is very much here now. In fact it is no kettle; it is a cauldron.

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MEDICAL OFFICERS — M.B.B.S.

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Applications close on 10-5-83.

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Batticaloa U. C. polls

Minister is non-aligned!

With the Batticaloa Municipal Council elections round the corner, Home Affairs Minister and Kalkudah MP K. W. Devanayagam seems to have suddenly developed an inordinate fondness for non-alignment!

Though his party, the

UNP, is contesting the elections, Minister Devanayagam has announced that he will remain neutral: "I'm not going to support anyone nor oppose anyone. I've washed my hands of the whole thing. I won't even look in that direction. I don't have to spell out my reasons for this decision, the people will understand."

The reason for the Minister's sulk, say informed political observers, is that he has been upstaged by

his Cabinet colleague from Batticaloa, Regional Affairs Minister C. Rajaturai. In the battle of the lists between the two Ministers' it was Rajaturai's list of candidates that was endorsed by the UNP high command.

Minister Devanayagam, who left for Helsinki on 22 April leading Sri Lanka's delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Association's Conference, is expected to return to the island only after the elections.

Anti-U.N.P. joint May Day rally in Jaffna

The Anti U.N.P. joint May Day Rally in Jaffna will be held at the Chunnakam Market ground at 5-00 p.m. on 1st May with K. A. Subramaniam in the chair. The parties in the joint committee are the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Ceylon Communist Party (Left).

It was decided to celebrate this May day reflecting the Anti-UNP aspirations of the people and also highlighting the following demands:-

1. Repeal the Preven-

tion of Terrorism Act; 2. Work out a political solution to the fundamental problems of the Tamil people; 3. Release all those detained under the Anti-Terrorist Law or also bring them to trial under the common Law; 4. Reinstate all those dismissed during the 1980 strike; 5. Hands off Trade Union rights. Bring down the cost of living. Stop imports of all local produce and subsidiary food stuff. Restore the subsidies enjoyed by the peasants in the past.

K. B. Ratnayaka, J.A.K. Perera and several trade union leaders are scheduled to speak at the rally.

The joint committee has also condemned the continued banning of May Day Rally Processions in Jaffna.

T.E.L.F. calls for boycott of local govt. polls

The THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION FRONT (TELF) has called upon the Tamil people to boycott the forthcoming local polls in the North and East.

TELF's press release stresses that such boycotts of all elections will help to unmask the government's democratic pretensions and reveal to the world that it is waging an undeclared war against the Tamils.

Is the Paranthan Chemical Corporation being deliberately run at a loss and systematically "killed". Does the Minister of Industries and Scientific affairs want it that way in order to put an alternate Chlorine and Caustic Soda Factory in his own son's electorate?

On March 11th, Chairman/Managing Director of the Corporation Mr. M.Y. Abeywardene issued a virtual 'ultimatum' to all the Employees. The Notice gravely says: "With much regret I have to bring to the notice of all employees that: (I) Production levels have come down, (II) Cost of production has gone up, resulting in heavy losses in the manufacturing activities. After much discussion the Hon. Minister instructed that the production levels should be brought up to the achievable levels within the next 2 to 3 months so that the manufacturing activity could be run without making a loss. The Hon. Minister was very emphatic that failure to achieve this would compel the Government to review the continuation of this industry".

Factory at Embilipitiya

With these ominous last lines the Ministry has moved to a semi-climactic stage in its well orchestrated plot to bring the curtains down on an Industry that has enjoyed a 35 year history of developing the region and providing employment for the Northerners.

But it is important to note that whereas the Managing Director now blames the employees for the losses, the employees themselves have been pointing out the deliberate mismanagement, acts of inefficiency and lethargy by the administration, through letters to the President and other members of the Ministry since 1979. The Trade Unions of the Corporation had always sensed that the Management was deliberately throttling Paranthan in order to justify the opening of a factory at Embilipitiya. But the Government turned a blind eye to these protests as it suited their own interests.

The reasons for the present losses are quite obvious, they have been pointed out to the "deaf" administration many time before.

(a) Unitech Evapo Rator: This plant which was installed in 1976 under the 1st expansion scheme, has not been operated effectively by the Management up to now. After being subjected to various modifications by inefficient 'local experts', the plant faces the danger of becoming a 'white elephant', solely due to ignoring the initial suggestions made by the Unions to get the plant commissioned by the suppliers themselves, even at some cost, which would have been negligible

Is Paranthan Chemicals being put to slow death?

compared to the losses being incurred presently.

(b) Chlorine Washing Column:

This plant has been kept without operating since its erection in 1976. The operation of this plant will result in the increased production of chlorine.

port of caustic soda much above the actual requirement. The excessive imports also resulted in a heavy accumulation of caustic soda in the storage tanks at the factory for months, due to which storage tanks have been completely damaged during the latter part of 1979.

developing the existing site at Paranthan. The report presented to the Board of Corporations on 14th June, 1979, running into four volumes, concluded "For the minimum investment, Case 'P' (i.e. developing the existing site at Paranthan) offers the maximum net present value and the highest International Rate of Return. We therefore strongly recommend adoption of the Paranthan Option". They also recommended the implementation of a programme of phased development of the Paranthan site.

It is also interesting that the British consultants noted with penetrating insight: "In the face of the economic assessment of the alternatives however, very pressing political or social reasons could be the only justification for contemplating development of a new site"!!

The very objective conclusion of the economic assessment however was a bitter pill to swallow for the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs. So the very next day Consultants were told: "The Policy of the Ministry is that a new factory is required for production of Chlorine/Caustic Soda, and only when this is in production and its products substantially utilized would the factory at

Paranthan be considered for up-grading or expansion". Did the pompous word "Policy" mask the "communal" motives which inspired it? The Consultants were re-submit a revised report "concerning only with the economics of the Embilipitiya site".

But even the revised revised report was not quite favourable to Embilipitiya. "The financial returns of a 10 M.T.D. plant (Chlorine) at Embilipitiya would be about 9.7% Internal Rate of Return if the existing factory (at Paranthan) is fully utilized. The result is however substantially below the Government's normal interest of 16% minimum". They also warned "Full utilization of Embilipitiya capacity improves the results, to an indicated I.R.R. of about 15.6%. But this will be at the expense of the profitability of the existing Paranthan Factory". They implied that Embilipitiya's success can be built only on the ashes of the Paranthan factory! so As the government proceeds with the Embilipitiya project it should be clear to all that Paranthan would soon experience a natural death.

Meanwhile in December 1981 as the Budget proposals were discussed in the Parliament, Opposition M.Ps raised the matter of the Paranthan Corporation and referred to the report of the Meers. Cremer and Warner. But Mr. Cyril Mathew blamed the consultant firm, and a Tamil officer of the Corporation for having deliberately misled the Firm in its findings. He also wrongly suspected the officer of having secretly passed on his copy of the feasibility study to the Leader of the Opposition.

The very next day after the Parliamentary Debate this officer was sent on compulsory leave and later forced by the Management to retire without showing reasons for their action. Mr. S. S. Sebaratnam who has been building the cor.

(Continued overleaf)

FOCUS

by a Staff Writer

(c) Electrolytic Cells:

Though the target number of electrolytic cells with the completion of the 1st stage of the expansion should have been 120, the number of cells are always kept below 100 thus creating an artificial low production of caustic soda and chlorine.

(d) Hydrochloric Acid Plant:

The erection of this plant was completed by 1977 (at an erection cost of Rs. 1,25,000/- and the whole plant was dismantled for unknown reasons during the latter part of 1978.

(e) De - Gasifier Unit For The Boiler:

Imported at a cost of about Rs. 50, 000/- in 1976. But even after erection, this unit is idling, affecting the efficient operation of the boiler plant.

(f) Proposed 2nd Stage Of The Expansion:

Government had earlier approved the above project with a view to utilize the old machinery in addition to the machinery installed in the 1st stage of the expansion. As a major portion of the production is done by this old machinery, the completion of this project would result in an annual total production of 50,000 M. tons of caustic soda and 3750 M. tons of Chlorine. However this expansion project has been shelved for unknown reasons.

Soda: The Caustic Soda produced at the factory is drained to waste due to im-

(h) Maintenance of Building:

Maintenance of existing buildings has been neglected to such an extent that it is feared that the whole production will come to a standstill very soon.

(i) Preventive Maintenance On plant Machinery:

In spite of repeated representations by the Unions, there is no planned preventive maintenance on the plant and machinery, which will result in total breakdown of most of the vital machinery. The switchboards installed on the 1st expansion scheme are turning to scrap as a result.

Though the capacity of the existing factory at Paranthan is 10 Tons/day for Caustic Soda and 10 Tons/day for Chlorine only 60% of the capacity is being produced. The Ministry's intention to systematically 'kill' the Paranthan Corporation and go ahead with the construction of the factory at Embilipitiya becomes glaringly unjust, irresponsible and irrational when considered in the light of the conclusions of the feasibility study conducted by a Firm of British Consultants, name Messrs. Cremer & Warner Ltd.

Foreign Aid funds from West Germany amounting to 3.2 million rupees were utilised for the feasibility study by the above consultants to consider the economics of a Caustic Soda/Chlorine project on alternative location at Embilipitiya or Sapugaskande or of

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Director.

So much for inter-racial cultural understanding!

A Tamil drama which has won several Presidential awards was booed off the stage less than half an hour after it started with shouts of 'Kottiya' (Tigers) at Nuwara Eliya recently, during an officially sponsored Arts Festival.

This was the bitter experience that befell Jaffna's Nataka Aranga Kallorie (College of Dramatic Arts) which accepted an invitation from the Govt. Agent, Jaffna to present an item at the Vasantha Vila (Spring Festival) — an annual event organised by the G.A. Nuwara Eliya. A representative of the GA Jaffna accompanied the drama troupe and dance troupe from Jaffna which went up to Nuwara Eliya for the Festival.

The Jaffna District items were billed to be performed at the Open Air Theatre on 19 April: the previous day cultural items from the other districts were presented without any disturbance.

When the Jaffna dance troupe began its performance around 7.30 p.m. on the 19th shouts of 'Kottiya' 'Thosai', 'Vadai' arose from the audience. Stones fell on the theatre's roof. The dance was cut short and the young dancers hustled away to safety.

The next item was the Aranga Kallorie's 'Poruthathu Pothum' (Enough of

Patient Waiting), a Tamil play which has won presidential awards for the Best Script, the Best Director, the Best Actor and the Best Drama. The play began after a short introduction in Sinhala by the AGA Nuwara Eliya. No sooner had the actors begun speaking their lines than shouts of 'Kottiya', 'Vadai', 'Thosai' again arose. The actors carried on regardless. Some stones fell on the roof. At this point the AGA summoned some policemen on duty and asked them to guard the stage while he himself tried to quieten the audience. The policemen slunk away and the AGA's single-handed efforts were in vain.

The harassed AGA then advised the actors to cut short the play. "I'm very sorry about all this. But you'll have to cut short the play as I don't have Police assistance" he told them.

Having no other alternative the actors finished a two-hour play within 20 minutes!

Police reinforcements were then summoned and they escorted the troupe to the quarters where they were staying.

The next morning the police recorded a statement from the Nuwara Eliya AGA who was in charge of the Festival and the Jaffna GA's representative.

GAMINI concludes his FOCUS on

Mohamed & the private operators

(Continued from last issue)

In simpler words the majority of the vehicles are of very low seating capacity. Quite a number of them are not suited to the type of use that they are put in Sri Lanka as for example, those with folding seats which have to be folded and unfolded frequently with much inconvenience to those seated on them, as other passengers get in and out. These vehicles are generally meant to cater to persons all or most of whom get in at one point and get off at another. Most of the smaller vehicles were also never intended to carry standing passengers, as evident from the absence of anything to hold on to.

While the inflow of the large number of private vehicles, without an attendant increase in road capacities, had aggravated traffic congestion, the fact that the majority of them are small vehicles has made the situation worse.

The greater road congestion

has not only served to increase travel time and operational costs (through higher fuel use) but also contributed to the increase in road accidents.

Besides the congestion, many of the private coach drivers are hard to beat at reckless driving and speeding in the quest to beat both the SLCTB and rivals and rake in the shekels. Last year, private coaches were involved in nearly 2,000 accidents, some of them resulting in fatalities.

Most of the conductors, for their part, are very polite until people get into their vehicles. Once inside, however, they order passengers to get up and change seats, go to the back, share seats, etc. And it is amazing how through all the attendant discomfort most of the passengers comply without complaint! Imagine a SLCTB conductor trying such tactics.

The worst result of unbridled private sector participation in passenger transport is the tremendous waste of the nation's

resources not only on the import of virtual junk, as stated earlier, but also through the under-utilization of SLCTB manpower and vehicles and the criminal burning up of petrol or diesel by buses running half-empty, all reflected in the mounting losses of this public sector undertaking.

As I mentioned last week, the total number of passengers carried by the SLCTB declined from 1,862 million in 1979 to 1,105 million by 1981; the load factor was down from 75% to 52% while the losses up from Rs. 315 million to Rs. 428 million during the same period. Last year, the respective figures were reported to be even worse.

What is urgently needed today is the co-ordination of the SLCTB and the private sector services, in conjunction with the CGR (which is also under the Transport Ministry), both to provide a more efficient service to the public and prevent the colossal waste of national resources unless the Government's intention is to eliminate the public sector services altogether.

While fares increase should not be allowed to become the ready means to cover up the SLCTB's losses, due in part to inefficient management and waste.

(Operations on Route No. 212 from Pamunuwa to Maharagama is a classic illustration, if the Minister wants one.) Private operators should be brought under greater supervision.

The present "competitive and rival approach" should be replaced with a "supplementary and constructive approach."

On my assessment, this is too big a task for Mr. Mohamed. Why not call in an expert like Mr. A.R.P. Wijesekera, if he is willing?

Is Paranthan Chemicals being put to slow death...?

(Continued from page 3)

poration for twenty five years, who had been sent to many countries abroad to specialise in Caustic Soda Chlorine Manufacture, who had closely worked with scientists like Dr. S. Gnanalingam, and Mr. R. K. Narong, pioneering the institution in its early stages, and who holds the proud achievement of showing profit since his appointment as Production Manager of the Corporation in 1971 when the institution was running at a loss, was conveniently sent out to facilitate the easier "killing" of the factory.

Later the Minister appointed a special team of local "subordinates" to prepare a counter report to that of the British Consultants, with a view to recommending the site at Embilipitiya. As expected, the faithful team tremendously exagger-

ated the demand forecast for Chlorine and justified the second factory at Embilipitiya.

But the problem that the Ministry is now facing is that no foreign country is prepared to give financial aid for the project because of the shabby treatment accorded to the British Consultants. The West Germans who gave aid for the Feasibility Study feel deeply insulted having seen their 3.2 million rupees going down the drain. But undeterred, the Ministry is going ahead with plans for the construction of the Embilipitiya project. The Salt Corporation is expected to find the money and provide the raw material for the Embilipitiya project. Meanwhile the Paranthan factory is gasping for its breath.

It should be noted that there is a pattern behind all this madness—an evil pattern of course. It is a well known fact that the Valaichenai Paper

Racial discrimination in employment too

Corporation is running at a loss after a second paper factory was started at Embilipitiya. The Cey-Nor marine project at Karainagar which did much to develop the region and provide employment to many frustrated Tamil youth, has now been reduced to a lifeless skeleton. The killing of the K.K.S. Cement factory is taking a different and subtler form. Under the guise of rapidly expanding the factory, the exploitation of the environment is proceeding in a maddening pace. Limestone is being excavated without any regard to limits; underwater resources are being affected and pollution threatens the health of the

people.

In the field of employment too, there is racial discrimination. In regard to recruitment of non-permanent employees and permanent employees who receive a monthly salary of Rs. 800/- the Embilipitiya Paper Mills Corporation, Plywood Corporation and Puttalam Cement Works show that Tamil officers have been nil. The ratio of Tamil employees in the Embilipitiya Paper Corporation, and the non-permanent staff and in Plywoods Corporation was less than 2 per cent. In Puttalam Cement Works the Tamil non-permanent employees 4 per cent. But amount of Permanent Sinhala employees in K.K.S. Cement Works amounted to 2 per cent and the permanent employee is 10 per cent, in Paranthan Chemicals 10 per cent and in Valaichenai Paper Corporation 23 per cent.

The plantation workers of Sri Lanka, who form the backbone of the plantation economy which still earns the greater part of our foreign exchange, are not only the most exploited section of our working class. They are also the most discriminated against—both politically and socially. By all logic, they should be at the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. But, as a result of the machinations of Thondaman and his Ceylon Workers' Congress, and due to the failure of the left movement, they have been made to become a reservoir for reaction. It is this paradox that we must seek to unveil.

The plantation workers of Indian origin were brought to this country in the middle of the last century by the British colonialists to open up and then work in their coffee, tea and rubber plantations. Even now we can hear plaintive songs about how they were inveigled into coming to Sri Lanka by the Head Kanganies who lured them with promises that gold was to be found under the Tea bushes. Thousands died in transit. Still more thousands perished due to epidemics. It was then that the Government of India came forward to compel the Government of Ceylon (both being British) to pass legislation to safeguard the health of these workers. But till 1940 when the Madras Government, on the advice of Nehru, banned Indian immigration into Ceylon, these workers were unable to organise themselves into trade unions because recalcitrant labour could always be repatriated to India by the Planters.

It was while Nehru was in Ceylon for talks with the Ceylon Government to resolve what even then was called the Ceylon-Indian problem that he gave the reactionary advice to the Indian leaders of these workers that they should form a separate political organisation to fight for the rights of Indians in Ceylon. Thus was born the Ceylon - Indian Congress.

The Ceylon - Indian Congress Labour Union, which was the precursor to the present Ceylon Workers' Congress, was an off-shoot of the Ceylon Indian Congress because the leaders realised that they could not win the allegiance of the workers of Indian origin without catering to their trade union demands. If Nehru had not given this unfortunate advice, the possibility existed that these workers might have joined common class organisations along with their Sinhalese brethren. History would then have been different. Of course, Nehru did not meet working class leaders. Those

The plight of the plantation worker

and the role of Thondaman

whom he met were the parasites who fed on these workers—the Head Kanganies, the businessmen, traders, lawyers, etc. who had come in the wake of the Indian immigration.

But, nevertheless, the organisations of these workers of Indian origin played a progressive role in the early days. In the 1947 General Election, when these workers still had the vote, they elected to parliament seven of their leaders from the Ceylon Indian Congress. In another 14 electorates they tilted the scales against the U.N.P. and helped left candidates to win. The lesson



Thondaman

It must, thus, be clear that it was the U.N.P. that was responsible for having rendered the work-

is the source of Thondaman's wealth.

The paradox of a rich plantation owner being the president of a plantation workers' union is sometimes hard to be understood by most people. To understand this we must realise that the plantation workers of Indian origin are oppressed both as a class and as a national minority. It is by championing the national interests of these workers and in the absence of a correct, alternative, and revolutionary leadership by the left that enabled Thondaman to win the political allegiance of these workers: What must

by

N. Sanmugathasan

was not lost on D.S. Senanayake. He realised what the left movement had not completely grasped, namely that these workers, because of their class origins, were potential recruits to the revolutionary movement, and, therefore, a threat to him and his class. He decided that they should be repressed.

What goaded him into action was the result of the Kandy by-election, after the first parliamentary election, where the U.N.P. and anti U.N.P. votes were more or less evenly divided and the issue was decided by the votes of the people of Indian Origin. That was how Mr. T.B. Ilangaratne first entered parliament. D.S. Senanayake swore that it should never happen again. In 1948, he brought forward the Citizenship acts which rendered the bulk of the workers of Indian Origin stateless and, therefore, voteless. Beyond staging a token Satyagraha the C.W.C. was powerless to do anything. It was incapable of revolutionary action. It is to the eternal shame of the left movement that it stood paralysed, unable to take a firm, principled stand. It was a major concession to Sinhala chauvinism. Senanayake had won a bloodless victory.

ers of Indian Origin stateless and voteless - political pariahs of Sri Lanka. How comes it then that they have today been brought to a position of being the main prop of the present U.N.P. Government.

To understand this, we must understand the class background of Thondaman, the leader of the C.W.C.; and also understand the sins of commission and omission of the left as well as the rest of the anti - U. N. P. movement. Thondaman was the son of a Head Kangany. This tribe of Head Kanganies were a very powerful one during the days of the Planters Raj. It used to be said that some of them were even more powerful than the planters, to whom they sometimes acted as money lenders. They fattened on the blood of the plantation workers on whose behalf they used to receive as pence money four cents per day that every worker in his gang worked.

There were also other forms by which these workers were exploited by these Head Kanganies. From this accumulated wealth several Head Kanganies bought up plantations and became planters themselves. Thondaman's father was one of them. That

be emphasized is that it is his class interests and not the interests of the workers that finds Thondaman in the same camp with J. R. Jayawardena, leader of the party that has most oppressed these workers. It was in the interests of U.N.P. reaction with which he was allied that Thondaman led the plantation workers to become the prop of reaction.

Of course, we must give Thondaman his due. He is a clever organiser and an able strategist. He fashioned the Ceylon Workers Congress into a powerfully knit trade union. He did this with organisational and financial assistance from the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and the American A.F.L.—C.I.O. some of whose officers have been in Sri Lanka for long periods—helping the C.W.C. organisationally. But because of the restraints of his class interests, he has never used this organisational strength, which is undoubted, to win any major demand for the plantation workers. For example despite the many problems of the plantation workers, there never has been a successful general strike of plantation workers. In 1953 also, when almost the entirety of the working class observed a Hartal, Thondaman kept the C.W.C. out of it on the ad-

vice of the Indian High Commission.

During the General Elections of 1977, Thondaman promised the plantation workers that he would obtain two major demands for them. One was monthly wages. The other was equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex. Despite Thondaman being a Minister for the last five years and despite his friend J. R. Jayawardene being the Minister in charge of plantations, these demands remain pipe dreams for the plantation workers.

Similarly although the Government has given two wages increases of Rs. 171/- and Rs. 100/- to the public sector on account of the rise in the cost of living, these increases have not been passed on to the plantation sector although they are part of the state sector. Half a million of them still remain state-less and voteless. The conditions of their education, housing, sanitation and health remain the worst in Sri Lanka. Their mortality rate is the highest.

During the last communal riots in 1981, the plantation workers of Indian origin, rather than the Jaffna Tamils, were the major target of Sinhala mob violence. We heard from the President's own mouth that the instigators of this communal violence were UNP men against a few of whom he took half-hearted disciplinary action, including, in one case, expulsion from the parliament. The recent phenomenal rise in the cost of living due to indirect taxes and other budgetary proposals has hit the plantation workers more than the rest of the nation.

Yet, Thondaman licks the foot that kicked the plantation workers. If not for the support of the plantation workers the UNP could not have won the referendum. In the Presidential Elections, too, the highest polls for the president were in the three plantation districts of Badulla, Nuwara-Eliya and Kandy. This has obviously put Thondaman in a favourable bargaining position and he has used this to obtain minor concessions. But nothing major. Thondaman has prostituted the trusting allegiance of the plantation workers for his class interests.

But that he was able to do this was due to failure of the left movement to organise these workers in revolutionary class organisations. In the early days the left movement

(Continued Overleaf)

LETTERS

(Continued from previous issue)

We must recognise that all governments which cease to be accountable through a subverting of the democratic process, tampering with the judiciary and clamping down on free expression are bound to be for more stupid, clumsy, wasteful, insensitive and violent than they would otherwise have been. And when they run into deep trouble, they pick on the minorities and other vulnerable sections of society to create diversions. We have seen this in Sri Lanka. Communist governments have often picked on the so-called bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, at least those sections who did not support them. Following the declaration of martial law in Poland, the media blamed the shortages on the ageing and dwindling Jewish population, which was accused of hoarding.

Nicaragua, which you high-

lighted in one of your article too seems to be sadly drifting this way. The Sandanista government's commitment to political pluralism and a mixed economy is increasingly in doubt. *La Prensa*, an independent newspaper with a record of opposition to the Somoza dictatorship, finds itself increasingly harassed. Any criticism of a 'socialist state' is routinely censored. Misguided US efforts topple the Sandanista government have given the communists in the government an excuse to adopt dictatorial measures and edge the non-communists out. People who complain find themselves in prison. And non-communist, left of centre intellectuals who participated in the revolution, like Alfredo Cesar, have found their positions increasingly untenable.

It is difficult for those ideologically committed to recognise the human failings of

those they once followed. But the Christian who starts from the premise of human frailty, and perfectibility only through divine grace, is enjoined even to change sides and be with the oppressed change sides when the oppressed turns the oppressor (-the French historian Christian and former resistance fighter Jacques Ellul in his book 'Violence')

Fr. Singarayar once stated publicly, 'should a single Sinhalese find himself oppressed in a future state of Eelam, I and my church, will by our faith, be enjoined to take his part'. He has done no more than to reiterate the Christian Stand. One wishes that the Singalese clergy will follow his example. The charges against him make no moral sense. If they were in any sense wise, most of the Roman Catholic clergy in Northern Ireland would have found themselves behind bars today.

For two thousand years the role of the clergyman has been one where he could move

freely among people of all classes, among those within or without the law, among those for or against the powers that be, keep confidences, hear confessions and give counsel, without reference to any secular authority. Their role as channels of communication and as honest brokers has helped to mitigate conflicts, and rulers have found it prudent not to meddle. The British government which finds itself confronting the IRA has evidently found the role of the Catholic clergy a useful one. The government of Sri Lanka cannot recognise an asset when it sees one. Perhaps they will, if they are bent on settlement rather than on confrontation.

David Hirst, the Guardian's Middle-Eastern correspondent is widely known as a crusader for Palestinian rights. In one dispatch he took the PLO to

task for alienating the Shai Muslim population of Lebanon by their high-handed conduct and in consequence playing into Israeli hands. (Israeli bombing of Lebanese villages was deliberately aimed at bringing about a rift between the local and the Palestinian refugee population) I put this charge to a Palestinian at a meeting of the Oxford Palestine Group. He replied, 'we must face up to it and treat it as criticism from a friend'. If we cease to be critical and give ourselves to blind adulation, we will not only let down our friends, but will lose our liberty. In the best traditions of the free Press, I trust the *Saturday Review* will adopt a more critical and even handed approach to events and people.

Yours sincerely,
Rajan Hoole
(M. R. R. Hoole.)

The Soviet goose and the U.S. gander (contd.)

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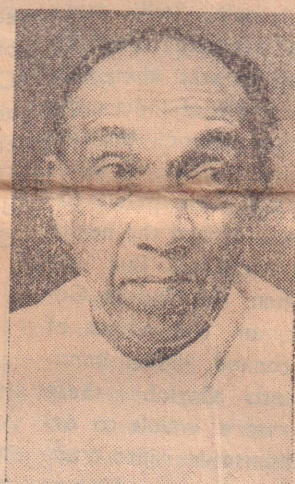
QUALIFYING GOOD WRITING

The plight of the plantation worker...

(Continued from page 5)
was conscious of the revolutionary potential of these workers. But as parliamentary opportunism overtook it, it fell a prey to Sinhala chauvinism and abandoned the workers of Indian Origin to the tender mercies of Thondaman. Once the plantation workers lost their right to vote, they became useless to the parliamentary left.

The way the plantations were nationalised also made the plantation workers hostile. It was a thoroughly bureaucratic exercise from the top without any participation of the workers or their mobilisation from below. On the contrary, they distinctly felt that their jobs and homes were threatened. The speeches of SLFP right wingers, like Anura Bandaranayake, that the Government would take over ten thousands acres of plantations for village development did not help. Neither did the speech of Hector Kobbekadawa threatening to deport Thondaman. Nor did Dr. Colvin R. De Silva as Minister for plantations, solve any of the economic problems facing these workers.

Thus was the leadership of these workers betrayed to Thondaman. The old left parties as well as the SLFP have always argued that any concessions to the workers of Indian Origin would estrange them from the Sinhalese people. This has now being proved false. J. R. and Thondaman have come to a firm alliance without any backlash of oppo-



A firm alliance

sition from the Sinhalese.

The plantation workers must be led back to their proper place in the revolutionary ranks. We cannot write them off as a reactionary force. It will take time to rebuild confidence. But it has to be done. Both the left and the rest of the anti-U.N.P. movement must boldly and unconditionally champion the demands of the plantation workers, not for opportunistic reasons but because the demands are just.

Revolutionary
potential

There can be no doubt about the revolutionary potential of these workers. Our experience with the Red Flag Union during its hey day in the latter half of the sixties, amply demonstrates this. Given a revolutionary leadership, the plantation workers of Indian origin are second to none. Instead of lagging behind reaction, they must take their rightful place at the head of the revolutionary ranks.

Now and then you hear the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture both at Colombo and Peradeniya exhorting people to cultivate new crops. The crops mentioned during the last couple of years have been wheat, soyabeans and winged beans. The extension officers in the field also repeat their master's voices. Not one of them has the faintest idea where the land for these crops is to be secured—perhaps it is not one of their functions! When confronted they will give you a ready answer 'where there is a will, there is a way'. Like them, many people take it for granted that land is always available. For agriculture one not only needs seed but also land, water, fertilizer and pesticide as well as technical know-how and management. So the person who exhorts for a new crop should also tell the farmers where and how other inputs can be found, the most important of which is land.

Robbing Peter

to pay Paul

For new schemes, it is possible to find the land for the new crops because the authorities can stipulate what crops are to be cultivated. But with the majority of cultivators in old and settled villages, when requested for cultivation of new crops, they would possibly give up some existing crops to make room for the new crops. So it is a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Otherwise, how can one explain the decrease to the extent of about half a million acres in the cultivation of kurakkan, maize, sorghum, manioc and sweet potatoes over the past ten years according to official statistics. It is a staggering figure. Is it due to the increased yield rate of some of the crops that the area was reduced? Or is it the easy availability of rice and wheat that discouraged this cultivation? Or is it due to some of these lands being cultivated with other crops (pulses, chillies, sugar cane)? Some in-depth studies are needed for the answer.

Best combination

of crops

How do we set about the cultivation of new crops in settled villages? If there is any uncultivated land available, this is the first choice or if the crop can be rotated with an existing crop, the remedy is simple. Otherwise it is a difficult question to determine which of the existing crops have to be dropped to give room for the new crop. Technical and economic considerations will have to be given in this determination. A further consideration will have to be given from the angle of nutrition—does the nation need more cereals or tuber crops or oil seeds or pulses or some combination

Land for new crops

of these to supplement the existing food that is locally produced.

In new schemes some studies could be made for the best combination of crops inclusive of the new crops. After some years when data collected are available, a linear programming can be done to determine the best combination of crops for optimum results having the objectives clear. The writer has witnessed this in the Sudan when a team from Cambridge collected data on the various crops cultivated and cost of production in the Gezira Scheme. The scheme is one for cotton but with subsidiary food crops as well for one million acres. Once the results of linear programming are made available the authorities can insist on the best combination of crops to be cultivated and apportion the areas for the various crops season by season as the Gezira Board is doing.

Protein deficiency

When considering new crops let us remember that feeding our people (quantity wise and quality wise) should be our chief aim. For practical nutritional purposes, foods are generally placed into 4 major categories:-

- (1) Rice, bread and other cereal products,
- (2) Fruits and vegetables,
- (3) Meat, fish, eggs, beans, peas and nuts,
- (4) Milk and other dairy products.

Preferably each meal should contain items from each of the 4 categories. It is possibly too tall an order to expect our masses to find the means, leave aside the knowledge, to follow this advice. However we can approach this ideal as best as we can.

We still have a section of our population with calorie insufficiency. It may not be due to lack of food in the market but due to the inability to find the money to buy the needed food. Therefore food (mainly cereals) must be made available at reasonable prices for the consumers. Thus local production should be kept up. The new crop wheat should be encouraged. Every effort should be made to restore the half million acres lost during the last ten years mentioned earlier—whether it should be the same crops or other Crops does not matter very much provided land

PERSPECTIVES

By

Nagamuttu

is not allowed to be fallow. These foods will give the variety instead of depending mostly on rice and wheat flour for the needed calories.

There are more people in this country with protein deficiency than calorie deficiency. Like most third world countries we receive most of the proteins from vegetable sources. Hence the present increase in the cultivation of pulses, a good source of protein, is in the right direction. Further steps should be taken in increasing the acreage under green gram, ulundu and other pulses. The new crop soya beans, rich in protein, should be encouraged. Equally its conversion to palatable and easily digestible food should be followed. Of all countries in the world the Far Eastern countries make the best use of soya beans. Why can't we?

We have also been making some progress in the cultivation of gingelly and groundnuts, another good source of Protein. Some stress can be made in the promotion of their cultivation in new land schemes.

Closer home, in the Jaffna Peninsula we have been cultivating annually about 25,000 acres with highland crops. The pattern of this cultivation has changed during the last half century. When the writer was a boy, he had witnessed the Jaffna villages concentrating on Malayalam tobacco—this

was a big cash crop those days. Besides tobacco, the people cultivated vegetables, manioc, kurakkan and some coarse grains. With World War 2 and the non-availability of many food items, there was a boost for local production and onions and chillies replaced Tobacco as a cash crop. They still remain so with potatoes & grapes in the second place. With limited land and water (with fear of salinity) if new crops are to be considered they have to take the place of some of the existing crops. Recently the writer spent a day in his village when the people were harvesting onions. They repeated the sad story of the price of onions sharply falling at the time of harvest. It was Rs. 150/- per cwt just before harvest & they fear the price may even fall to Rs. 70/- due to temporary glut and import. So this is a crop that needs consideration whether we should persist in its cultivation. Either steps should be taken (possibly by NDAPC Union) for some export of the crop immediately after harvest so that prices may not fall to the great disadvantage of the producers or in the alternative reduce the extent under onions and consider another crop in its place. The third possibility is not to import at the time of harvest but we have not been success-

ful. I understand some exports of onions to the Middle East is not beyond us. India & Pakistan are successfully selling some of their onions to the Middle East. Why should not we follow their methods? Should we not send a team to study how onions are exported from India & Pakistan to the Middle East and Singapore—grade, quality methods of packing, transport and matters concerning trade? The time has come for some re-thinking of our garden crops. In this re-thinking we can consider new crops.

When new crops are to be introduced we are beset with a host of problems. Should they be on new land or on existing land and if the latter whether in rotation with some crop or at the expense of another crop or other crops? In this connection I am reminded of what a team of experts on 'World Food Prospects and Agricultural Potential' had stated:-

"Only scientists develop new technologies. Only farmers produce food. Motivation and incentives are important for both scientific discovery and food production. Food-production research is a process, a continuing search to unravel mysteries. The pace of agricultural production must be forced, and technologies must be tailored to each local condition. This can be best be done by scientists who also know how to farm—creatures who are becoming rare indeed".

Where to farm and what crops

So what we need is the advice of scientist who also know how to farm. This advice would also include answers to where to farm and with what crops (new and or old) by small regions. The farmers then produce food. PS

Latest reports indicate that onion producer prices are encouraging.

C.R.M. shocked at Cabinet decision

A meeting of the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka held on 15 April 1983, presided over by its Chairman the Rt. Reverend Lakshman Wickremesinghe, adopted the following resolution.

The Civil Rights Movement is deeply shocked at and strongly condemns the action of the Cabinet in deciding that the damages and costs awarded personally against the Superintendent of Police, Gampaha, in the successful application for breach of fundamental rights filed against him by the Reverend Daramitipola Ratnasara

Thero, Secretary Pavidu Handa ("Voice of Clergy"), be paid out of public funds, and that the said Superintendent of Police be promoted. The decision is reported to have been made in order to ensure that "public officers should do their jobs and follow orders without fear of consequences from adverse court decisions". The state controlled Daily News 4th March 83.

CRM states that this step amounts to a governmental endorsement of the action of the SP who was found guilty by

the Supreme Court of illegally seizing the Pavidu Handa leaflets during the referendum campaign and thereby interfering with the petitioner's constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of expression and publication. It throws further doubt on the fairness of the referendum, acts as an encouragement to similar breaches of fundamental rights of the people by police officers, and has the effect of undermining the role of the judiciary in protecting the rights of the people.

The first two instalments of this article appeared in the SR issues of April 2 & April 9

Kailasapathy's critical method - 3

The ruling class bias of great works of poetry can be seen in their indifference to or neglect of real struggle by the downtrodden and a pre occupation of the poets with utopia based invariably on the moral reformation of the ruling class without de-throning it. There were poets like the Nayanmar and Alwar who became spokesmen of struggle. They even founded a reformed religious way pro claiming that all were equal before god. But exploitation and oppression continued and "those of the high caste behaved like gods". People's aspirations took the form of struggle again and this time the Siththar who condemned customs and rituals raised their voice against the caste order too. The Siththar, however, were again a peculiar breed of utopians. Their critique of the society was incisive but they divorced themselves from it and found solace in isolation. Even the most radical rationalist critics of society could not emancipate their own minds from a religious, utopian frame of thought. Kambar's utopia was a grand Ram Raj. One of his most pregnant expressions about the triumph of humanity — மானிடம் வென்ற தம்மா — sums up everything. That is the point which signifies the triumph of the

ideal; and the ideal is nothing else but humanity itself in its total poetic beauty that was Kambar's Ram Raj.

The dialectical connection

wanted social revolution. He did not believe in a past Kirutha Yugam, he made it the great society of the future. Relating Bharathi to

by

Dr. N. Shanmugaratnam

Tokyo

between utopia, realism and struggle becomes more discernible as we move closer to our own times to Bharathi who was a poet of a great era. He was a link between two eras and his historic importance derives from his contradictory personality. Yet, in the final analysis Bharathi's utopia was based on a radical and advanced social consciousness. One sees life in its most real form in his poetry. Bharathi's heroes were the radical bourgeois nationalists of his time but as a thinker he was far ahead of the leaders he admired. He represents continuity in the sense that he retained the philosophical idealism of his predecessors but at the same time he represents a radical rupture in poetic vision because of his faith in the power of the people to destroy and reconstruct. He



Poet Bharathi

Indian class reality is easier not only because he speaks of our own times and of a reality shared by us but also due to his forward looking utopianism that clearly sees and exposes the injustices of the present. His utopia itself can be related to an ideal that is sought

by the working people through class struggle.

Kailasapathy's own balanced stand on antiquity (பழமை) and novelty (புதுமை) comes out clearly in his critical assessment of Bharathi. He speaks approvingly of the general attitude of Bharathi on the relationship between antiquity and novelty. Bharathi believed in assimilating many new ideas and creating

a new life but he also believed that we cannot completely reject the past and create anything novel out of a vacuum. This is Kailasapathy's own position too, but in a Marxist sense, and this must be grasped to understand his attitude towards novelty in theory. He directed his mind to a historical materialistic analysis of the literature of the past in order to understand the present and identify the appropriate modes of modern cultural development to serve the struggle for social transformation. He distinguished the elements that must be upheld and retained from those that must be discarded. The former constitute the base for modernization. An index of cultural modernity is the dynamic evolution of this base. It is also an index of a dynamic Tamil identity as opposed to a static backward looking false identity. From this premise Kailasapathy's method seeks to study the assimilation of novelty

by Tamil literature. Such assimilation does not come merely by translation of foreign works into Tamil in the absence of an internal base attuned to it. The construction of this base is also a conscious activity of the literary workers. Kailasapathy was undoubtedly an urbane, unorthodox Tamil scholar. But, he believed firmly in the most fundamental of all dialectical propositions - the distinction between the basis and the conditions of change in social phenomena and the primacy of the former as the field of manifestation of change. His prime concern was change in the society in which he lived and his scientific practice was guided by that commitment. The following thought, expressed in one of his latest articles published, tells us what Kailasapathy stood for in his life.

"Socialism is not a magic wand. That name (Socialism) has no superhuman powers. Socialism must be created and properly run by the people".

Kailasapathy's approach as shown here has a historical perspective. He studied the great classics against their actual historical background and became a foremost pioneer in exploding many myths and educating generations of students that nothing can be beyond criticism and no work or author can be sanctified without violence to truth. He formulated and popularised a scientific method which has helped us to study, enjoy and evaluate literary works in a changing world. Kailas will live on by the irrepressible power of his thoughts.

(Concluded)

Terrorism Act causing great concern, says Aussie I.C.J. official

(By S R Sydney Correspondent)

"Evil prospers when good men remain silent"

So stated Mr. Rodney Lewis, Secretary General of the Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists, when concluding his speech as Guest of Honour, at a Bharatha Natiyam Recital function held by the Eelam Tamil Association of Australia at Macquarie University, Sydney, on Sunday the 27th of March 1983. The function was attended by a large number of Australians, Eelam Tamils, Tamils from Tamil Nadu, Malaysia, Singapore and many other parts of the world.

Mr. Lewis exhorted fellow Australians to show greater concern and to speak out regarding violation of human rights in a fellow Commonwealth country such as Sri Lanka

with which Australia has so many ties. He said "I am not concerned (at least as secretary general of the I.C.J.) with the formation of a separate state but I am concerned with the state of human rights in Sri Lanka and that concern arises not only from my visit there but because the I.C.J. has now produced and published a report which is called ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA. It was prepared by Professor Virginia A. Leary of University of New York Buffalo."

The I.C.J. has sent this report to the government heads of Australia and Sri Lanka and the High Commissioner of Sri Lanka. He added that the High Commissioner in his detailed reply failed to respond to the criticism of most

important aspect of the report, legislation which is called the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act'. He went on to stress to the audience that the provisions of this Act of Sri Lanka were causing great concern to all members of the I.C.J.

Mr. Lewis said that the aforementioned 'law' had conditions which were outlawed by the International Covenant Sri Lanka has ratified together with other countries and that the 'law' has been summed up in the I.C.J. report as follows, "The South African Terrorism Act is a piece of legislative which must shock the conscience of any lawyer many of the provisions of the Sri Lankan Act are equally contrary to the accepted principles of the rule of law". "The International Covenant on Civil

and Political Rights has been ratified by Sri Lanka; meaning intent to put and give effect". By implementing this, Sri Lanka can publicly indicate that it is prepared to submit itself as a country to international scrutiny as a result of private complaint by persons affected by the national law. He said that this will "Assist those people who claim that they are being victimised by the police and by the

army of the Government of Sri Lanka".

He very clearly called upon the conscience of all the people present by saying "If indeed you are concerned about human rights... and I am talking about your rights (as human beings) then we must all do something, if only to speak out, to speak our minds; there is a saying - 'Evil prospers when good men remain silent' that is true today".

'Evil prospers
when good men
remain silent'

---Rodney Lewis

Secy General, I. C. J., Australia

Gandhiyam woman worker petitions the Supreme Court

Kanagarani Vivekanandan of Vavuniya who alleges that she was forced to prepare distorted statements of accounts by officers of the Armed forces at Gurnagar Army Camp in Jaffna for the purpose of implicating Gandhian Secretary Dr. S. Rajasundaram in Terrorism activities, has petitioned the Supreme Court against infringement of her fundamental rights.

Twenty-nine years old Kanagarani who is a mother of two children and now in the fourth month of pregnancy has been helping Gandhiam as a Book-keeper and clerk in the Vavuniya office of Gandhiam.

In a petition to the Supreme Court filed by her Attorney C.V. Vivekanthan on the 25th April, Kanagarani states, inter alia:

"Gandhiam is a voluntary social service organisation engaged in re-settling and rendering financial and material as well as service assistance to Tamil refugee victims of the successive communal riots, particularly those dislodged from their homes and line rooms in the hill country estate areas and seeking refuge in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The organisation runs farms in land purchased by it or donated to it and lands of which it has acquired leasehold rights wherein it re-settles such refugees. It renders financial and material assistance and also channels the services of volunteers to such refugees re-settled by it and other refugees re-settled on their own and in need of such assistance. Such services include the running of schools and channelling medical care.

Account books removed

On 6th April 1983 a team of Army and Police officers headed by Brigadier Balthazar and including Major Saliya Kulunga came to the Vavuniya office of Gandhiam and arrested and took away in custody its Organising Secretary, Somasundaram Rajasundaram, a Registered Medical Practitioner. Later the same day they returned to the said office with the said Dr. Rajasundaram in custody and searched the office and removed several files, books of accounts and documents of Gandhiam.

She subsequently learnt that Dr. Rajasundaram was being detained in army custody at the Army Camp at Gurnagar, Jaffna and that the President of Gandhiam, Mr. Arulanandam David had been arrested by the police at his place of residence in Colombo and held at the CID office at first and was later being detained in army custody at the Panagoda Army Cantonment.

On 16th April 1983, officers of the Vavuniya Police headed by Mr. Hearth, the Superintendent of Police Vavuniya, and including Mr. Krishnarajah, Inspector of Police and Officer-in-Charge of the Vavuniya police Station, came to the said office of Gandhiam. Mr. Krishnarajah questioned her extensively about the work done by Gandhiam and recorded her replies. The Police party then wanted to remove further files and documents, but desisted from doing so on her requesting them not to do so in the absence of Dr. Rajasundaram and went away.

'She was asked to write distorted accounts and told to keep quiet about it'

On 21st April 1983 at about 11-00 a.m. several Army and Police Officers, at least three of whom had been in the party that arrested the said Dr. Rajasundaram on 6th April 1983, one referred to by others as "OIC" another referred to by others as "S.P." and the other referred by others as "A.S.P." came to the said Office of Gandhiam with a letter the Petitioner from Dr. Rajasundaram. The letter was in English and the Petitioner could not read it, but understood when read out to her, to be to effect that accounts had to be done and for the Petitioner to come to the Gurnagar Army Camp with the calculator. The said Officers wanted her to go with them immediately but the petitioner told them she could not go immediately, but would come the next day. Dr. Rajasundaram was aware that the petitioner was not suffi-

ciently conversant in English and would not have written to the petitioner in English unless he was forced to write the said letter.

The next day (22nd April 1983) She reported at the Gurnagar Army Camp at about 10-30 a.m. as instructed by said officers. The person referred to as "OIC", whom the petitioner believes, but is not certain, to be Major Kulatunga, was there along with Dr. Rajasundaram.

Dr. Rajasundaram appeared to her to have thinned much since his arrest, very weak and eyes sunken. His speech was hardly audible.

The person referred to as "OIC" thereafter required Dr. Rajasundaram to get the petitioner to write out certain account particulars in a way different from the audited accounts and in a way in which there would be distortion. The person referred to as "SP" and "ASP" who had gone to the Jaffna Police station in search of the petitioner came back into the Office and the person referred to as "S.P."

with the auditors and such accounts are in the Process of audit. The 1982 books have been taken over by the Police and Army.

Out of more than a hundred volunteers who have worked for the Gandhiam 4 or 5 persons are alleged to have been involved in acts of violence after they ceased to be such volunteers. None of such persons are even alleged to have committed any offence while they were working as volunteers at the Gandhiam. As volunteers they had received a small allowance at the respective farms they worked at. The true and detailed particulars of such payments are recorded in the relevant books. Yet the said officers were attempting to cause the petitioner to prepare a (distorted) account to show that Dr. Rajasundaram had paid money to "Terrorists."

Startled by this request she asked Dr. Rajasundaram "Sir, these people are asking us to prepare such statements of accounts: we do not know whether they are

time she reached her home in Vavuniya and she could not come the next day. The person referred to as 'OIC' then spoke to someone on the telephone and told the Petitioner that she may go and come back on Monday (25th April 1983) having prepared the (distorted) accounts if possible also translated to English.

"When the Petitioner stood up to leave, the person referred to as 'OIC' told her that she must not tell anyone at all that she was asked to prepare those statements of (distorted) accounts and that if they came to know that anyone other than had been told about it they would arrest her and bring her to the Gurnagar Army camp without any further questions.

The Petitioner then did good-bye to Dr. Rajasundaram and returned home.

The Petitioner states;

a) that she had worked as a volunteer in the Palamottai farm of Gandhiam from 1978 to 1980 and started helping in accounts only from 1981 and does not have any personal knowledge of the account particulars upto January 1981.

b) that the books of account of Gandhiam reflecting the true and accurate accounts of all its income and expenditure and the names of all persons who worked for it at every period, properly audited upto 1980 and the Audited Statements were already in the hands of the said officers;

c) that the Petitioner apprehends that the said officers required the said (distorted) Accounts to be made up in the manner aforesaid with a view to create false evidence against Gandhiam and the said Dr. Rajasundaram as having aided "terrorists" and perhaps intend to force the said Dr. Rajasundaram to sign and authenticate them.

d) that the Petitioner is not bound in law to carry out the said orders to write up distorted statements of account in the manner aforesaid;

(Continued overleaf)

terrorist. Why should we make out such statements?" Dr. Rajasundaram replied very weakly and in a forlorn tone, "Since they are asking, do it". The Petitioner then asked him, "Are they tormenting you sir?" Dr. Rajasundaram replied "Yes". This entire conversation was in Tamil, but at this point the person referred to as the "OIC" appearing to sense that the conversation had deviated from what he had expected, sharply ordered another officer to move and sit by the side of Dr. Rajasundaram and the Petitioner.

"The Petitioner then started writing out statement of accounts as instructed and as best as she could and continued till 5 p.m. The person referred to as the 'OIC' then asked the Petitioner to go and return the next day. The Petitioner said it would be 10 p.m. by the

asked the person referred to as "OIC" whether he had instructed the petitioner and Dr. Rajasundaram to prepare the accounts in the manner in which the authorities required them and the latter replied in the affirmative. The officers wanted the said (distorted) accounts prepared in Sinhala or English and the petitioner told them that she could not do so and Dr. Rajasundaram was required to get the petitioner to prepare the said (distorted) accounts

The petitioner states that the accounts of the Gandhiam for the years 1977 to 1980 have been duly prepared and audited, by qualified persons and the audited statements had been submitted to the Social Service Department, and Police and Army personnel who raided the Gandhiam office have taken over copies of the same and all the books of accounts. The 1981 books are

Gandhiyam President S. Arulanandam David was stripped naked and tortured at the C.I.D. office and beaten up by army officers at Panagoda later. Protesting the acts of inhumanity against the Tamil detenus as well. Attorney-at-Law G. Kumaramalingam sent the following telegram to President Jayawardene on April 23rd:

Visited detainees at army cantonment, Panagoda today (stop) Detainees complained of severe assault by army personnel on tenth, eleventh and twelfth instants and inhuman treatment, handcuffing at night manacled to cell door during the day, food reduced etc, (stop) Detainee Rajendran passing blood and suffering from frequency of micturition due to assault (stop) Fifty seven years old architect David stripped naked and tortured at CID Office, thereafter subjected to cruel treatment at army cantonment to force sign confession before A.S.P. and badly beaten by army officers last night (stop) Lawyers not permitted access to David until confession was signed though court made order permitting access on Tuesday. Move detainees to Fiscal custody to prevent this inhumanity and cause all violations of human rights to be inquired by independent inquirer = Kumaramalingam, Attorney-At-Law.

The following letter was sent by Attorney-at-law G. Kumaramalingam to the Commander of the Sri Lanka Army in connection with the detention of Architect Arulanandam David, President of Gandhiyam.

Gandhiyam woman worker..

(Continued from page 9)

e) that the said threatened arrest and consequent detention of the Petitioner would be illegal and would be infringement of her fundamental rights guaranteed by Articles 13(1) and 13(2) of the Constitution and that such infringement is about to occur by executive or administrative action.

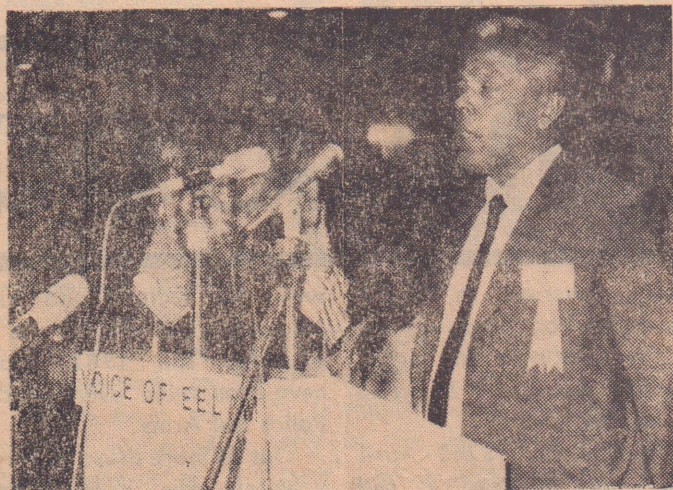
f) that non-compliance with the said person referred to as "OIC" would lead to the same threatened arrest and detention of the Petitioner by the said army and Police officers and such arrest and detention would be illegal and would be infringements of the said fundamental rights as well as of the fundamental right guaranteed under Article 13(4) of the Constitution.

WHEREFORE the Petitioner prays:

a) in the first instance for leave of Your Lordships

Attorney-at-law complains to President

'Gandhiyam head David stripped naked & tortured'



Arulanandam David: Photograph taken when he addressed the Tamil Eelam Convention at New York in July last year

The Commander of the Army, Army Headquarters, Colombo-3.

Dear Sir,

Detainee Arulanandam David - Court of Appeal Order No. HCA 20/83.

I write further to my letter to you dated 20th April 1983 on the above subject.

The whole of the 21st I spent my time at telephones trying to confirm the receipt by your office of the Court's Order in respect of lawyers' access to Mr. Arulanandam David and the conveyance of orders from your office to the Commandant of the Detention

Barracks. By afternoon on the 21st, Army Legal Services acknowledged that the order of Court had been received and Headquarters had sent the "Signal" to the barracks. Barracks Commandant, however, while confirming receipt of the "Signal" said that he could not act on the "Signal" alone, but had to await written orders. Written orders reached the Barracks 21st evening or 22nd morning.

I again gave due notice and called over at the Army Cantonment in the afternoon of the 22nd, again with a certified copy of the court's order. I was made to wait for over 1½ hours at the Military Police

Charge Room near the entrance to the Cantonment and then, at about 4 p. m., told over the telephone by Sgt. Mjr. Dodangoda that I could not be allowed to see the detainee concerned that day as right then the Police were questioning him and would not finish until after the 5 p. m. time limit given me in the court's order.

I strongly protest against this action of the said Sergeant Major as it amounts to direct defiance of the Court of Appeal. While I shall pursue

the available remedies through the Court, I shall also request you to inquire into this matter and take appropriate action.

I was finally able to interview Mr. David on 23rd April 1983 and I learnt that while I was kept waiting with the copy of the Court of Appeal's Order the previous day, Police Officers had been assaulting and intimidating Mr. David into making a false confession to an Assistant Superintendent of Police Mr. Punya de Silva and into signing it.

C.R.M. concern over growing Police indiscipline

A meeting of the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka held on 15 April 1983, presided over by its Chairman the Rt. Reverend Lakshman Wijekremesinghe, adopted the following resolution.



former M.P. Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene in the Koliupitiya police station, assault by police officers arising out of private disputes between individuals in which the police take one side.

CRM re-iterates once again its demand, made repeatedly ever since CRM's inception in 1971, and recommended by the Basnayake Report in 1970, for the introduction of effective and independent machinery to investigate allegations against the police.

Kantha Sakthi call for repeal of P. T. A.

The Action Committee of the Kantha Sakthi Organisation passed the following resolution recently:-

"We condemn totally the action taken by the UNP Government in using the Police force to prevent the peaceful long march in Jaffna recently. It is our view that this is a gross violation of the democratic rights of our people. The Police assault on the women delegation returning from the U.S. Embassy on the 9th of March (International Womens Day) was an unhealthy parallel action to the events that took place in Jaffna. We also call for the immediate repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act."

Yours faithfully,

Rohini Dep Weerasinghe

CRM express grave concern at the growing indications of police indiscipline and at the recent spate of complaints of police assault both in public and at the police station, in particular recent reports of:

assaults against journalists at Kotamale; assault and unlawful detention of a 17 year old boy at the Kandy police station; assaults against women strikers at Ekala; assault against students at Jayawardanepura; death of a suspect held in police custody at Matale; assaults against pavement hawkers in Colombo; assault against

Court to proceed with this application,

b) that Your Lordships' Court be pleased to make all such order as are necessary to prevent a breach of the Petitioner's fundamental rights guaranteed under Articles 11 and 13 of the Constitution,

c) for such relief and such direction as Your Lordships Court may deem just and equitable in the circumstances, including and in particular:

i) an order directing the 2nd to 4th Respondents not to arrest or detain or permit the arrest or detention of the Petitioner in contravention of Article 13 of the Constitution

ii) an order directing the 2nd to the 4th Respondent not to subject the Petitioner to torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and to take the necessary precautions to prevent the same,

iii) an order directing the 2nd to the 4th Respondents that the Petitioner shall not be compelled to prepare (distorted) statements of accounts in the manner aforesaid or otherwise as required by them either under threat of illegal arrest and detention or under torture, cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,

iv) that in the event of her arrest and detention in the custody of the army and or police personnel, an order that she be not subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and that her close relatives and Attorneys at-law be allowed access to her and that she be allowed to have medical attention and treatment by her own doctor,

d) for costs, and

e) for such other and further relief as Your Lordships Court shall seem meet.

Come May 18 and Sri Lanka will go through the farce of more "free and fair" elections! I am not referring to the elections to the 50 local bodies, which are due anyway, but to the 18 parliamentary by-elections, which are utterly uncalled for and will be a sheer waste of time and money.

The Government's justification is that the majority of the people in these constituencies had indicated their preference for elections by saying NO at the December Referendum to its proposal to extend the life of Parliament by another six years. On that premise, and if the Government so "democratic-minded", as claimed by its leaders, then by-elections should have been ordered in many more constituencies, not only in the South but also in the North where also the people's verdict was similar.

In fact, the people of the North will have no part at all in the by-elections.

The Government's real objective is to blunt the demand for a general election at the end of Parliament's six-year term in August. There can be no hiding of this fact. But if, as the opposition said, the Referendum was no substitute for a general election, how could by-elections in only 18 of 168 constituencies be?

Even if the opposition makes a clean sweep of all the seats at stake, it is not going to affect the power structure in the country. The Government has made sure of that, for its more than two-thirds parliamentary majority will remain intact whatever the result at the by-elections. If more opposition members are elected, it would only serve to make Parliament a bit more noisier than now.

The opposition could have achieved more by keeping off the by-elections altogether, that is, by refusing to get involved in the fun and games devised by the UNP high command, and

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

continuing to insist on a general election. Such a boycott could have exposed to the world the mockery that is going to be perpetrated in the name of democracy.

Once the opposition parties decided to fall into the UNP trap with their eyes open, they should have remembered that, di-

election, while the JVP should have been satisfied with two seats. No, both wanted to contest more seats, and Mrs. Bandaranaike said NO, and that was the end of the no-contest pact.

The JVP's go-it-alone policy is going to make a big difference in the five constituencies it has fielded

Though some political analysts have said that the dissension within Sri Lanka's biggest opposition party is based on ideology—a clash between the "moderates" and the "radicals"—it has much to do with personalities as well.

The 1981 split in the SLFP occurred because Mrs. Bandaranaike suspect-

members of this group indulged in was very active campaigning for the SLFP at the Presidential poll while some of the "moderates" were inactive or even helped the UNP cause!

They belong to the younger elements of the party, the elements that give dynamism to any party. Mr. Jayewardene realised what a threat they could be to him at the referendum that he conveniently had a number of them put behind bars until it was all over.

Mrs. Bandaranaike would do well to give these elements greater representation in the party machinery and go on to build a strong party, that is, if she still entertains an idea of forming a third government. For if the SLFP is to have any future in the country it cannot afford to be a "moderate party", or the "alternate capitalist party". It has to build a true socialist image and bring together all the progressive forces in the country, in both the South and the North, in a grand alliance against the capitalist UNP.

GOVERNMENT'S

ANSWER

It has been reported that "a high-powered three-man Ministerial committee is to be appointed shortly to probe Northern terrorism and submit a report. The committee would assess and review all dimensions of the terrorist phenomenon and recommend solutions to eradicate it. The committee would go into the factors which help to motivate and sustain terrorism, with particular emphasis on discovering permanent solutions...."

The three wise men

I would suggest that the Minister of Industries, Mr. Cyril Mathew, the Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, both of whom have first-hand experience of "Northern terrorism" they were present in Jaffna during the district council elections in June 1981—and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, who sees the terrorists' hand in the Gandhian movement, be appointed to the committee.

This mockery in the name of Democracy!

vided, they have little chance of worsting the ruling party. Are the memories of opposition leaders so short as not to remember what happened at elections in the recent past? Or are they being influenced by extraneous pressures, even foreign pressures? The C.I.A., K.G.B., etc. are supposed to be very active in Sri Lanka!

All wanted more seats

Whatever it is, the fact remains that the brief unity achieved by seven opposition parties to face the coming elections together has been shattered. All over the division of the spoils.

The LSSP could not have asked for more than one seat after its poor showing at the Presidential

candidates. The beneficiary undoubtedly will be the UNP. The entry of a number of ex-SLFPers as independents could also make the UNP's task easier.

The voters could show their disapprobation of the Government's subterfuge and the antics of the opposition parties by staying at home on May 18. What special benefit would they get by exercising the special privilege afforded them?

DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

It must now be clear to everyone that effective opposition unity cannot be achieved until and unless the SLFP puts its own house in order. This appears to be an even more arduous task than bringing all the opposition parties together.

ed that a group within it was plotting to oust her from leadership after her civic disqualification. It was certainly no ideological struggle. Some key members of that group are now out of the party.

Mrs. Bandaranaike appears to have formed a similar suspicion after a powerful group within the party succeeded in putting forward Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe as the presidential candidate. As a consequence, much of her energies since then has been spent on clipping the wings of this group.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike who had forfeited his party position after his 1981 defection, has now been rehabilitated within the SLFP's central committee as an observer by his mother, while Mr. Vijaya Kumaranatunga finds that he cannot have things very much his own way. His bid to contest Habaraduwa was countered with the offer of Mahara! Little is now heard of Mr. Kobbekaduwe.

The group with which Mrs. Bandaranaike is not much enamoured of corresponds to that described by President Jayewardene after the Presidential election as "anarchists" and "Naxalites".

All the "anarchy" that

Polls participation fatal, says C. M. U.

"To participate in the by elections would be tantamount to falling in with President Jayawardene's purpose in holding them" states the General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, Bala Tampoe in a press release.

The CMU statement points out that "those candidates of parties that

may oppose the UNP and be elected on 18 May would become Members of a Parliament which will continue to have an artificially preserved majority of members of the UNP, and which will have no democratic right to continue to be in existence beyond the end of the term for which it was elected i.e. beyond August this year.

"President Jayawardene's latest move in relation to Parliament is obviously designed to renew mass interest in the present Parliament, while testing out mass opinion in the electorates he has selected, without holding a General Election, and without endangering his supremacy over the present Parliament in any way."

The CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF SRI LANKA has called for "the holding of a fair and free general election in 1983", stating that "the government's decision to hold by-elections in just 18 out of the 168 seats is no remedy."

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

3 Govt. party men in the

North shot dead the same afternoon

Three supporters of the ruling United National Party—two of them heading the party's list of candidates for next month's local polls, the other a bodyguard of the UNP's Jaffna Organiser—were shot dead on Friday (29th April) at Pt. Pedro, Valvettiturai and Chavakachcheri. This brings the tally of UNP supporters in the North shot dead within the last five months up to five.

K. V. Ratnasingham—the UNP's No. 1 candidate at Pt. Pedro—was shot dead at noon on Friday almost opposite the Magistrate's Bungalow at Beach

Road, Pt. Pedro while he was cycling home. A card bearing the insignia of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers was found beside his body. One side of the card bore this inscription: "This is the death sentence for being the mercenary of a State that has unleashed terrorism." It was signed by the Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers.

Ratnasingham (43) was the Chief Clerk of the Pt.

Pedro MPCs, the branch President of the UNP's trade union organisation, Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya, and its Northern Organiser.

Murugesu Pararajasingham (31) who was injured during the shooting was admitted to the General Hospital, Jaffna, where an emergency operation was performed on him.

S. S. Rajaratnam, a long time UNP supporter and

bodyguard of the UNP's Jaffna Organiser K. Ganeshalingam, was shot dead at Valvettiturai on Friday afternoon. The van in which he was travelling was stopped by unidentified youths on cycles; they pulled him out of the van and shot him dead on the spot.

At Chavakachcheri, the UNP's leading candidate Samuel Seevaratnam Mutiah (65) was shot dead

round about 4.45 p.m. on Friday. He had dropped in for a chat at his next-door neighbour's house, a pastor, when 3 youths cycled up, pulled out revolvers and pumped a few bullets into him. They left behind a letter before cycling away.

These three deaths bring up to five the number of UNP supporters shot dead since November 1982. Last year V. Thambapillai of Punnalakadduvan was shot dead in his house on 20 November. This year K. T. Pulendran, the UNP's Vavuniya Organiser, was shot dead on 19 January while he was watching a TV movie at home.

A. Thiagarajah, ex-MP for Vaddukoddai and the UNP's No. 1 Jaffna DDC candidate, was shot dead after an election meeting in May 1981.

Detenu who died in....

(Continued from page 1)
If I had held the post mortem examination on the 10th of April, some of these injuries probably might have been caused on the 27th or 28th of March. Blows could have caused contusions on the lungs. One contusion on the lung had a corresponding external injury.

Difficulty in breathing described by Dr. Abraham could have been caused by the contusion on the lungs. He had lost roughly 2 pints of blood as a result of internal bleeding. That loss of blood also could have caused internal bleeding, especially in the arm.

Manacles could have caused the injury on the arms. I have carried out a microscopic examination of the liver and there was no evidence to suggest that he had taken food for 72 hours, and this might have been

due to his illness. He could have refused as he was sick.

In my opinion adequate treatment from an Institution could have saved his life.

I have sent certain internal organs to the Government Analyst for examination and report, for the purpose of detecting poison.

The report of the Govt. Analyst has not come yet, normally it takes 3 to 4 months for the report to come."

Dr. Saravanabavanathan in reply to a question from the Magistrate said that he had done 5000 postmortems in the course of his career. He had qualified abroad in Forensic Medicine and also published a book on the subject. Dr. Saravanabavanathan is also Professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Jaffna.

Jaffna Medical Assocn. 2-day sessions

The Annual Scientific Sessions of the Jaffna Medical Association will be held on the 7th and 8th of May, in the Nurses Training School, Jaffna. Prof. R. Kanagasundaram,

Dean, Faculty of Medicine, will open the sessions by lighting the traditional oil lamp at 9.15 a.m., on the 7th, following a ceremonial procession.

Left Unity vital - G. C. S. U.

"The working class of this country goes through this May Day at a time when the capitalist class is faced with the most severe economic crisis while the working class itself is also divided and dispersed" states a Government Clerical Service Union press release signed by its General Secretary, Gunasena Mahanama.

The press release calls for the unity of the working class on an anti-capitalist base and the "liberation of the working class from the capitalist class with the aspirations of forming a left power bloc".

It concludes "Left Unity will effortlessly come about with the bringing about of unity among the working class. And such Left Unity will not only pave the way for the destruction of the UNP Government but also of the entire capitalist structure."

Chelva Memorial Lectures now available in print

The Chelvanayakam Memorial Lectures of 1981 and 1982 delivered by Prof. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson and Prof. S. S. Arasaratnam res-

pectively have been brought out in booklet form by 'THANTHAI CHELVA MEMORIAL TRUST', Jaffna. Prof. Wilson's lecture titled "A STUDY IN CRISIS LEADERSHIP BASED ON A PORTRAIT FROM MEMORY" is also available in Tamil rendering. Prof. Arasaratnam's lecture was on "HISTORICAL FOUNDATION OF THE ECONOMY OF THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA". Distributors for both the publications are: "Kanthalakam", 213, K.K.S. Road, Jaffna (Phone: 22156) and Poopalasingham Book Depot, Hospital Road Jaffna (Phone 23631).

Prof. Wilson's English Text is priced at Rs. 3/- (U.S.\$1) and the Tamil text at Rs. 5/-. Prof. Arasaratnam's text is priced at Rs. 7/50 (India Rs. 5/-).

30 Trade Unions

want P. T. A. repealed

The repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and all Acts 'passed to suppress the Tamil speaking people' are two of the 11 demands that have been put forward by 30 trade unions in Sri Lanka, including the GOVT. CLERICAL SERVICE UNION.

The unions have demanded that the "Prevention of Terrorism Act should be withdrawn, penalties imposed under that Act should be set aside and particularly all political prisoners serving jail sent-

ence and those on remand should be set free" and that "All those Acts passed to suppress the Tamil speaking people should be withdrawn and their self determination rights should be recognised."

The other demands relate to the reinstatement of the July 1980 strikers, the reduction of prices of essential commodities, the repeal of legislation suppressing the working class and trade union organisations and the restoration of the citizenship rights of all estate workers.