

# Forward

The View From The Left

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*We Say .....*

### ON THE RUN

The confident prediction of the African National Congress that South Africa will be ungovernable as long as apartheid continues has come true with great rapidity.

Pretoria's racist regime is on the run. Its diabolical system of apartheid, which seeks to perpetuate the domination of four and a half million whites over 30 million blacks by passing one hundred and one racist laws, hanging over 100 blacks every year, and sending 100,000 blacks to prison every day, is on the skids.

The world-wide fight to see that apartheid is ended and real democracy installed in South Africa has reached heights never experienced before.

Irrespective of other differences, the over-whelming mass of the people in that country - including progressive whites - are in open revolt, bravely defying and bringing to naught the state of emergency and the brutalities and outrages that the Pretoria regime has enacted thereunder.

Condemnation of Pretoria and the demand for mandatory sanctions against it have become universal. The meeting of the Non-Aligned countries at Luanda last week has come out strongly for such a course of action, and the U.N. itself has indicated in an unmistakable manner that this is also the wish of the overwhelming majority of the members of the august world body.

So far, the U.S., West Germany and Britain - all of whom have heavy investments in this racist country - have been in the forefront of those resisting the demand for mandatory sanctions.

These imperialists, who do not worry an iota about imposing boycotts and sanctions against Angola, Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and other countries, have had the brazen impudence to argue that they did not want to impose sanctions against South Africa lest they hurt its black population!

Now that absurd argument has been torn to shreds. To avoid much more formidable sanctions against South Africa being imposed by the U.S. Congress, President Reagan has done a 180-degree turn and imposed "selective sanctions", which even a moderate like Bishop Tutu has denounced as inadequate. West Germany may soon follow the U.S. lead. Only Ms. Thatcher's government in Britain - which President Jayawardene recently praised as a model of democracy - continues to give help and succour to the embattled and cornered racist regime in Pretoria.

What of Sri Lanka? Until a few weeks ago, the UNP government was happily trading with the racist regime, including buying from it over 30 armoured cars and other military hardware. We are glad to note that, like Reagan, our government has also done a U-turn, with Foreign Minister Hameed telling the Non-Aligned Conference at Luanda that the demand for mandatory sanctions is "impossible to resist".

We do not want to ask the Minister why this government found it possible to resist this demand all this time. All we ask is that, even now, let it not stop at talking about mandatory sanctions or waiting for the U.N. to approve this officially.

Let it impose unilateral sanctions against South Africa here and now and keep this up until apartheid disappears from that country, democracy takes over, Namibia is given its freedom, and aggressions against front-line African states stop.

## MURDER AND MAYHEM AT MULKIRIGALA

Although the government has asked the bourgeois media to play down the extent of violence at the Mulkirigala by-election, all available evidence indicates that it was much worse than what is officially admitted.

Otherwise there would be no sense in the government, which won with a slender majority of 1,329 votes although it did not gain an absolute majority of the total votes polled, imposing a 24-hour curfew in the electorate immediately after the polls closed.

Unofficial but credible reports place the number killed at nearer 10 than the three to which the government admits. The number of violent clashes, too, is much more than the 20 reported to the Police. Several dozen persons were hurt in these fracas, many of them forced to seek medical aid and hospitalisation.

The main reason for these clashes was that neither of the main contenders, the UNP and the SLFP, placed any principled alternative policies before the voters.

Instead, they battled around issues of who could wipe out "Tamil terrorists" more ruthlessly, who would be more inflexible in the face of Tamil demands - not to mention caste and family rivalries. Both sides relied on intimidation and thuggery in the absence of principled political differences.

In the matter of strong-arm tactics, the SLFP had the edge domestically, especially after the U.N.P.'s local specialist in this field crossed over on failing to receive U.N.P. nomination. To counter this, the UNP organised a massive stationing of its Ministers and M.Ps in the constituency, as well as mass

incursions of its island-wide political goon-squads.

Physical attacks and counter-attacks became a striking feature of the by-election. They climaxed on election day when the UNP got the Police to lock up the main SLFP strongmen for the duration of the election, and used their outside forces to drive out SLFP agents from polling stations, block and disperse anti-UNP voters, and fill queues in anti-UNP polling booths with their impersonators.

This, in turn, led to SLFP supporters opening fire on the UNP goondas and a subsequent battle royal.

### Claims

Minister Lalith Athulathmudali has claimed that the result at Mulkirigala showed the appreciation of the voters for the government's efforts to bring about a lasting solution of the ethnic problem. (ISLAND, 15/9). UNP General Secretary Nandalal Fernando has claimed (SUN, 14/9) that the people had "responded to the pledge of President Jayawardene that he would eradicate terrorism from this country" and his policy of "planned development".

But in actual fact what most worked in the UNP's favour was its combination of threats and cajolery, in which it stressed that, as the UNP would continue to govern until 1989, the voters should not expect any common or

personal favours unless they voted UNP. The SLFP leaders, especially Anura Bandaranaike who headed their Mulkirigala campaign, expected their candidate to be swept to massive victory on the twin themes of racism and casteism. But this did not happen.

Middle and lower ranks of the SLFP are very critical of Anura Bandaranaike's leadership in this campaign. They recall how he insisted on fighting this by-election, even clashing with his mother and others who had argued that this would vitiate the SLFP's call for a general election. His agreement with large areas of UNP policy, his unconcealed anti-Leftism, and his aristocratic casteism alienated large sections of anti-UNP voters and caused internal struggles among the SLFP campaigners, with Mr Bandaranaike at one stage walking out to Colombo in a tantrum and refusing to return unless his unquestioned authority was respected.

Although the voters were unimpressed by the SLFP leaders' racist and casteist slogans, their general hatred of the UNP was such that, despite intimidation and lack of faith in the Anura leadership, they turned out in large numbers to vote against the UNP. With a different leadership and really alternative policies, they could well have brought about a different result.



Monks, priests, nuns, academics and concerned citizens demonstrated in Colombo last week to demand that the cease fire is respected and extended and the ethnic peace talks resumed.



# Vietnam Builds for Tomorrow

On 2 September 1985, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam celebrated the 40th anniversary of its formation and the tenth anniversary of the liberation of South Vietnam.

The August Revolution, which led to these victories, was a long revolutionary struggle. Led by what was then the Indochinese Communist Party, it began in 1930 and went through several stages.

From 1930 to 1939, it took the form of a grim struggle for political independence under the banner of the Democratic Front. From 1939 to 1945 the revolutionary forces battled French colonialism and Japanese military-fascist rule.

The successful August Revolution, which was closely linked with the struggle of the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-fascist war in Europe and Asia, led to the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRVN), a great turning point in Vietnamese history.

## COMEBACK

But soon after the DRVN had been formed, the French colonialists tried to stage a comeback.

With the connivance of British troops and U.S. support, they started military actions in South Vietnam. On the pretext of disarming the defeated Japanese army, the troops of Chiang Kai Shek walked into North Vietnam.

Led by their Communist Party and the legendary revolutionary hero, Ho Chi Minh, the Indochinese people fought back resolutely. Their aim was to preserve the gains of their August Revolution, to defeat the imperialist aggressors, and to protect and consolidate their independence and sovereignty.

This struggle lasted nine years. It was waged with great resolution and tenacity, often against what appeared to be insurmountable odds. Their main tactic was that of dividing the ranks of the enemy while gathering forces for a protracted, all-sided peoples' war of resistance.

This courageous struggle ended in the historical victory of Dien Bien Phu, when the French and allied troops were routed in the great offensive of 1953-4 and were forced to sign the Geneva Agreement of 1954. The new revolutionary order that was established in North Vietnam became a powerful base in the further struggle to liberate South Vietnam and reunify Vietnam.

## U. S. TAKE-OVER

It was at this stage that U.S. imperialism, which had hitherto supported the French colonialists, decided to take over the fight that their defeated ally had been forced to abandon.

This began the anti-US phase of Vietnam's revolutionary struggle, a contest of strength between all the main

contradictions of our epoch on the world scale, between national liberation and imperialism, between revolution and counter-revolution.

U. S. imperialism was determined to make South Vietnam its neo-colony and its striking base against revolutionary movements in the rest of Asia.

Vietnam became the testing ground for its latest and most horrible weapons of mass destruction, for its so-called "counter-insurgency strategies" and its political tricks and manoeuvres.

## EXCEEDS W.W. II

The American war to subdue and defeat Vietnam involved an effort far greater than that which it had used in the anti-fascist war in Europe.

The 14.5 million tons of bombs and explosives that the U.S. rained on Vietnam were FOUR TIMES more than what it dropped in Europe and North Africa in World War II.

The 670 billion dollars it spent on its war against Vietnam were TWICE its total expenditure of 341 billion dollars in World War II.

Six million U.S. troops were committed to the war against Vietnam in different stages. Over a million troops were permanently stationed in South Vietnam.

The Pentagon has since admitted that 70 per cent of its infantry, 60 per cent of its air force, 40 per cent of its navy, and 60 per cent of its marines took part in its war against Vietnam.

## CHEMICAL WAR

In addition, the U.S. subjected Vietnam to the most barbarous forms of chemical warfare.

100,000 tons of toxic chemicals (i.e. 3 kg. for each Vietnamese) were sprayed on Vietnam's fields and crops, destroying enough food grains to feed one million people for a year, rendering 38,000 kilometres of territory uninhabitable and contaminating 2 million people.

It also used the so-called "Flying Fortresses", the B-2 bombers, to submit large areas of North Vietnam to merciless carpet-bombing.

But the Vietnamese patriots fought back with great heroism and sacrifice.

An immense international united front of support for their struggle - similar to but even greater than that for Republican Spain during the 1930s - and the material assistance they received from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries helped the Vietnamese people immeasurably to carry on their struggle.

In the United States itself, a formidable campaign built up against the war against Vietnam, particularly among the young people who were sent to needless death by their government in a dirty war.

As U.S. casualties mounted, opposition to the war became more and more pronounced. Eventually, President L.B. Johnson had to announce that he would not seek re-election and the U.S. was compelled to go to Paris to sign the 1973 agreements to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

When the U.S. tried to get out of the agreements it had been forced to sign, the

by

Gnana Hemasiri

Vietnamese launched their famous "Spring Offensive" that led the U.S. troops to scramble ignominiously for escape in 1975.

With the liberation of Saigon, the colonial domination of Vietnam ended for ever.

## TEN YEARS

In the ten years since the liberation of South Vietnam, the expulsion of the US and other aggressors, and the reunification of the country, Vietnam has consolidated itself as a socialist state.

In the U.S., in contrast, the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" has lasted for a decade, playing an important part in inhibiting the normal tendency of U.S. imperialism to start military adventures abroad.

Within five years, the Vietnamese people, led by their Communist Party, completed the restoration of their economy, which had been devastated by prolonged imperialist aggression.

An extensive land reform was carried through and the process of collectivisation, which extended to 65 per cent of rural households by 1981, will be completed this year.

Both industrial and agricultural production have expanded enormously. Existing industrial units have been expanded and modernised, and several hundred new ones started, often with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

## UPSWING

There has been a remarkable upswing in the life of the working people. Per capita food consumption has increased from 240 kgs. a year in 1975 to 310 kgs. last year. Illiteracy has been wiped out, and the health and education services vastly expanded. The tens of thousands of Vietnamese who had lived as orphans, prostitutes, waifs and strays, and underworld figures in South Vietnam under the U.S. imperialist rule have been re-educated and given work and a chance for a new life.

Industrial output has increased FOUR TIMES between

1975 and to-day and is steadily increasing at a rate of 26 per cent a year. Most of the rural sector has been electrified, fishing and forestry expanded, and new housing projects are under way.

But even after liberation, the Vietnamese people have had to face big problems.

Hegemonist circles in China have continuously sought to destabilise them, resorting on several occasions to actual armed aggressions which were fortunately routed.

The imperialists, especially those of the U.S., have kept up a policy of economic sanctions and boycotts. They have tried to push the ASEAN states into armed confrontations with Vietnam. Vietnam has also been called on to do its fraternal duty in helping the brotherly Kampuchean and Lao people defend their independence from the imperialist aggressors, the Chinese hegemonists, the Pol Pot genocidists, and counter-revolutionary forces operating from Thailand and elsewhere.

On this anniversary, the people of Sri Lanka will wish the fraternal Vietnamese people still further successes in the great tasks on which they are engaged - tasks whose success will contribute in no small way to new victories for peace, independence and social progress in Asia.

## FOOD STAMPS: POOR HIT

In its efforts to meet the anticipated Budget deficit of over Rs 32 billion caused by its stepped-up purchase of arms and military hardware, the government has introduced changes in the Food Stamps Scheme which will hit the poorest of the poor.

Until recently, food stamps which can be used to subsidise the purchase of certain essential food stuffs have been issued to households whose collective income is less than Rs 300 a month.

Although this is below the official poverty line, around sixty per cent of Sri Lankan households depend on these food stamps in order to buy their minimum basic foodstuffs.

The World Bank has, however, been urging the government to make substantial cuts in the Food Stamp scheme or to abolish it altogether. The government itself has been threatening to "re-organise" the scheme so as to reduce expenditure and to save money for arms purchases.

What it has now decided upon is a typical piece of UNP governmental deception.

The income entitlement limit for the receipt of food stamps has been raised from Rs 300 to Rs 700 a month. But in the light of the five-fold inflation since the Rs 300 limit was fixed, this is a distinction without a difference.

The catch is that the government will now restrict the number of recipients of food stamps to two per family. At present every member of a poor family receives these stamps. In this way, the government hopes to make substantial "savings".

Gramodaya Mandalayas are to decide who will receive food stamps and who will not, thus adding an aspect of political patronage to the distribution of these stamps. Some Mandalayas have protested saying that they do not wish to take upon themselves the unpopularity that should rightly go to the government.



Peasants demonstrate against enhanced water rates in front of the Mahaweli Ministry



# WORLD PEACE DAY IN COLOMBO

"The latest Soviet proposal to be submitted at the forthcoming sessions of the UN General Assembly for the prevention of the militarisation of Outer Space is welcomed by the peace-loving and progressive people in Sri Lanka and we hope that the Government of Sri Lanka will vote in favour of this proposal".

This was stated by Kamburugamuwe Vajira Thero, Lecturer, University of Kelaniya, at a public meeting to mark World Peace Day held at the Public Library, Colombo, on September 2.

The meeting was organised by the Sri Lanka Peace Council, trade unions, religious organisations and many other mass organisations. Mr T.B. Subasinghe, Vice - President of the World Peace Council and President of the Sri Lanka Peace Council presided.

K. Vajira Thero further said, "Unfortunately we are living in an era where there is hatred and mistrust among nations which is manifested by the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. Apart from the millions being squandered on the arms race we now have the possibility of its spreading to outer space. In this context if the United States government would adopt a peaceful policy such as the USSR, a bright future could be ensured for the future generations."

Mr. L.N.T. Mendis of the Sri Lanka Christian Peace Conference, focussing on the socio-economic aspect of the arms race, said that whereas 800 billion dollars are spent per annum for the arms race the budget of the United Nations Organisation remains at 2.7 billion dollars.

According to UNESCO, he said 1.2 billion dollars would be sufficient to wipe out illiteracy encompassing 700 million in the world today.

The collective debt of Third World countries accumulated over a period of 15 years amounts to 650 billion dollars.

## TEACHER'S DEMANDS

The demand that all teachers who lost their jobs in the July 1980 strike should be re-instated and that those who were taken back subsequently should be paid back - wages was made at a Central Committee meeting of the Ceylon Teachers' Union held recently.

The union also demanded that certificated and uncertificated teachers should receive the same salary increases as other teachers.

It has also asked the government to see that the results of the final examinations of Teachers' Training Colleges after 1982 are released.

Also demanded is the lifting of the suspension of students who took part in the agitation against the University Education Act so that they can be re-admitted to the schools which they attended earlier.

Thus the funds set apart for armaments would be more than sufficient to cancel these debts.

Referring to the risk of nuclear winter arising from atomic weapons he said that in order to secure wider knowledge among the world public, the UN General Assembly on 19th December 1984 passed a resolution directing the Secretary General "to compile, classify and distribute information about the risk of nuclear winter arising from the atomic weapons". Unfortunately this resolution which was passed by 130 votes to nil had the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and some other European Community members, eleven in all, abstaining.

Mr. M.G. Mendis, President of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions stressed that the emergence of the world socialist community has been the strongest deterrent in

averting the Third World War. He said that the Soviet Union has been in the forefront in creating world public opinion against war and has put forward innumerable proposals for the preservation of world peace.

Mr. L. Ariyawansa, Secretary, Sri Lanka Peace Council handed over the first copy of the book "The Struggle of the Peoples of Asia for Peace and Security" to Professor A. Belkovich, the well-known Sinhala scholar of the USSR and author of the Russian - Sinhala Dictionary.

A resolution expressing wholehearted support for the latest Soviet government proposal for preventing the arms race in outer space and the USSR's unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapon testing was unanimously adopted. A resolution saluting the fighting people of South Africa and expressing its full support to their struggles for equality and independence was also unanimously adopted.

## SRI LANKA SUPPORT FOR SOVIET INITIATIVES

Support for recent Soviet peace initiatives and requests that the government of Sri Lanka should support the latest proposal made by the Soviet government to the United Nations in regard to the non-militarisation of outer space and its peaceful use by all nations to benefit mankind was expressed by several Sri Lanka public organisations last week.

The joint rally to celebrate World Peace Day on September 1st, which was called in Colombo by the Sri Lanka Peace Council and a number of trade unions and other mass organisations, adopted a resolution opposing the U.S. "Star Wars" programme which has "greatly increased the threat of nuclear war" and saying that:

"The unilateral moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons announced by the Soviet Union and its proposal to the United States to join in this moratorium constitute an important step in the direction of nuclear disarmament.

"This can lead to ending the production of new nuclear weapons. But the U.S. government has rejected this proposal without even taking the trouble to examine it.

"This meeting expresses its whole-hearted support for the latest proposal made by the Soviet government to the United Nations calling upon the world body to draw up a programme for preventing the arms race in space and ensuring that outer space is used only for peaceful purposes that benefit mankind.

"It calls on the government of Sri Lanka to support this proposal on behalf of the people of Sri Lanka."

### AFRO-ASIAN

Mr A. Aziz, Secretary General of the Afro - Asian Solidarity Association of Sri

Lanka issued the following statement:

"The Executive Committee of the Afro - Asian Solidarity Association of Sri Lanka at its meeting held on the 4th of September, 1985, considered the statement by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachyov, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on a Moratorium on Nuclear Tests with effect from 6th August, 1985 (the Hiroshima day) to 1st of January, 1986.

"The Soviet declaration also confirms that this Moratorium would be continued even after that date, provided the United States gives positive response to this initiative and stops its nuclear explosions.

"The Executive Committee welcomes this statement as a step forward in the direction of reduction of nuclear arms and world peace.

"The Executive Committee agrees with Soviet conviction that ending of all tests of nuclear weapons would become a major contribution to consolidating strategic stability and peace on earth.

"The Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Sri Lanka appeals to the United States to respond positively to this initiative of the Soviet Union and join hands with the Soviet Union to stop nuclear explosions. A nuclear war would mean an end of the human race and all that humanity has achieved since the creation of the earth."

CFTU President M.G. Mendis said: "The CFTU fully backs the Soviet proposals, which, if implemented, will help to stop the nuclear arms race and create a positive climate for nuclear disarmament.

## ISRAEL STEPS UP ITS IRON FIST POLICY

Following its meeting on 4 August 1985, Israel's Cabinet has begun a massive escalation of its so-called "iron fist" policy - namely, ruthless repression of Palestinian territories it has illegally occupied.

The Zionist rulers of Israel followed such policies for many years in the past. But in recent years they had been forced to relax some of them due to the pressure of public opinion abroad and at home.

The new measures that followed the August 1985 meeting of Israel's Cabinet give its occupation authorities the green light to step up the subjugation of the Palestinians, the expropriation of their lands, and the crushing of any and all resistance to the enforced occupation.

Palestinians in the occupied territories can now be arrested at will, detained for indefinite periods, and even deported from their homelands.

Also sanctioned are mass reprisals against civilians, as well as the indefinite closure of newspapers, educational institutions, and universities. The An-Najah University has already been closed just before its final examinations.

In a statement condemning this and calling on all fraternal communist and workers parties and world public opinion to speak out against the renewal of the "iron fist" policies and measures, the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party says that Israel is stepping up its repression because its earlier policies of "extreme economic squeeze of the occupied areas and of giving a free hand to 'racist colonial settlers' could not subjugate the Palestinians and break their resistance. The Israeli government, it adds, also seeks to exploit the difficult period through which the Palestinian movement is passing and the disunity in Arab ranks.

## GREETINGS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has sent the Workers Party of Ethiopia revolutionary greetings and best wishes for further successes on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution.

A telegram conveying these greetings has been sent to the General Secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, MENGISTU HAILEMARIAM, by Chairman Pieter Keuneman and General Secretary K.P. Silva on behalf of the C.C. of the CPSL.

## SRI LANKA & THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM

by  
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# The Rout of Japanese Militarism

1985 marks the 40th anniversary of not only the defeat of Hitlerite fascism in Europe but also the rout of its principal ally in the Far East, namely militarist Japan, whose surrender on 3 September, 1945 brought World War II to an end.

Bourgeois historians to-day seek to make out that the decisive factors that led to Japan's defeat and surrender were the operations of the U.S. Navy and Air Force in the Pacific, as well as the fact that it dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The armed forces of the U.S.A. undoubtedly made an important contribution to Japan's defeat and surrender.

*But there is a wealth of factual evidence to show that the U.S. Supreme Command was conscious during this period that, while its island-to-island naval-cum-air operations in the South Pacific weakened Japan in no small way, the Japanese militarists could not be brought to their knees owing to their large ground forces.*

U.S. military records show that its High Command felt - and correctly - that even if the Japanese had to withdraw from or surrender their islands, they could still carry on owing to their Kwantung Army, which represented the best part of their armed forces and was supplied with its own industrial base.

As they put it, the Kwantung Army and its independent industrial base was "capable of prolonging the war even after the islands of Japan were subdued unless Russia should enter the war and engage this army".

## REPORTS

*This is why the US Chiefs of Staff reported to President Roosevelt in December, 1944, that the Soviet Union's entry into the war at the earliest possible moment was needed to give maximum support to US*

## THEN & NOW

In view of the claim of several current historians that it was the U.S. atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that brought about Japan's surrender in September 1945 and the end of World War II, it is worth recalling assessments at the time of western authorities whose credibility Washington cannot question.

Winston Churchill, for instance, said that "it would be a mistake to suppose that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb".

Admiral Leahy, chief military adviser to the U.S. President at the time, agreed.

"The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki", he wrote, "was of no material assistance in our war against Japan".

General Chennault, the former Commander of the U.S. air forces in China said:

"Soviet entry into the war against Japan was the decisive factor the brought about the end of the war in the Pacific."

*operations in the Pacific, and why President Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference and President Truman at the Potsdam Conference lobbied so hard with Stalin on this matter.*

In addition, even while fully engaged in the fight to rout the Nazi hordes in Europe, the military operations of the USSR, especially after the victories at Moscow and Stalingrad, forced the Japanese militarists to tie up nearly a million troops in Manchuria in anticipation of military action by the USSR.

## ENTRY

Having routed the Nazi forces, the USSR fulfilled its treaty obligations and entered the war against Japanese militarism.

On 9 August 1945, Soviet troops mounted a land offensive on a vast front stretching from the Transbaikal area to Vladivostok.

**In its 24-day campaign, the Soviet army surpassed all engagements fought by the U.S. forces in the Pacific. 677,000 Japanese officers and troops were killed or wounded, and Japan's losses in these 24 days amounted to one-third of its total losses in the whole of World War II.**

As for the U.S. decision to drop atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is well established that this was taken more with the intention of intimidating the Soviet Union than of defeating Japan, whose representatives were, at the time, already trying to sue for a separate peace with the U.S.

What is more, even on 7 August 1945, the day after the atom bomb was dropped

Most military historians of substance admit that, if the Soviet Union had not entered the war against Japan on 9 August 1945, the anti-Japanese war would have gone on for another 18 months after the end of the war in Europe and required a 7-million army concentrated in Asia.

In wiping out in a mere 24 days Japan's million-strong Kwantung army and depriving it of its military base in north-east China and Korea, the Soviet Union accelerated the termination of the Second World War and saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of American British and other allied soldiers who would have otherwise perished in a protracted war.

It should be remembered that nearly half the total forces of the British Empire (4.2 million out of 8.7 million) were coloured colonial peoples, while a considerable part of the U.S. forces themselves were black Americans.

on Hiroshima, Japan did not convene its Supreme Council to consider this development, even though Japan's Ambassador in Moscow was urgently requested to "find out the Soviet stand as early as possible".

Japan's Supreme Council did, however, meet on August 9, when the second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.

Here, again, it was not the bomb that was the centre of its attention.

*Instead, it was a report from Japan's Prime Minister, Kantaro Suzuki, which said: "The Soviet Union's entry into the war this morning leaves us no hope and makes the further continuation of the war impossible".*

## CHINA

Another important factor in the downfall and defeat of Japanese militarism was the part played by China, especially by the 8th Route and New 4th Route armies led by the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese people fought Japanese aggression for a full eight years - starting from 7 July 1937, when Japanese invaders attacked the Marco Polo (Lugouqiao) bridge 15 kilometres south of Beijing.

But even earlier - on 18 September 1931 - Japanese militarists had attacked Mukden (Shenyang) as a prelude to the occupation of Manchuria and incursions into north China.

*The Chinese people, who received considerable help from the USSR, waged the anti-Japanese war with great courage and self-sacrifice.*

This anti-Japanese war was the only victorious war that the Chinese people waged against imperialist aggression and for national liberation in the entire century since the first Opium War in 1840.

Their heroic struggle had a big impact on both the world-wide struggle to defeat fascism and on the national liberation revolutions throughout the world thereafter.

## STRATEGY

When it first invaded China, Japanese militarism calculated on fighting a "quick war, quick victory" war that would not last more than three months.

But the united resistance between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang, instituted in 1936-7, made that strategy impossible.

*Over a million Japanese troops were immersed in the quagmire of war in China, unable to extricate themselves.*

Even after the defeat of the Kuomintang armies in Wuhan, when the Kuomintang leaders became more interested in fighting the Chinese Communists than the Japanese invaders, the Chinese People's Army kept up the battle in the rear, submerging the Japanese forces in a sea of people's war.

**In its 8-year resistance to the Japanese aggressors, the armies led by China's Communist Party killed or wounded 960,000 Japanese and puppet troops and captured 200,000. Liberated areas were established with 95 million inhabitants. The Communist-led armies grew to 910,000 and the People's Militia to 2,200,000. The Chinese theatre of war became**

one of the major battlefields of the fight against fascism.

## RESISTANCE

An important contribution was also made to the defeat of Japanese militarism by the armed liberation struggles of many countries that Japanese militarism had overrun.

In many countries, these struggles were led by the Communist Parties. Among these countries were Vietnam, Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and several others.

It was the combination of all these forces that made possible the final defeat of Japanese militarism and the end of World War II.

## GREETINGS TO BULGARIA

41 years ago, between the 11th and 16th of September 1944, troops of the Third Ukrainian Front, commanded by Marshal Fyodor Tolbukhin, freed Bulgaria from the fascist yoke as part of the mighty counter-offensive of the Soviet Red Army that drove the German fascist hordes back to Berlin and finally smashed them there.

A national uprising of the Bulgarian people, led by the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the party of Georgi Dimitrov, fought side by side with the Soviet army to bring fascist rule in Bulgaria to an end.

*This was the second time in history that Bulgaria had been liberated from foreign rule by its great neighbour.*

On 19 June, 1774, Russian troops, commanded by the legendary General Alexander Suvorov, routed a Turkish army of occupation of 40,000 troops and liberated Bulgaria from Turkish rule. Bulgarians have never forgotten either of these two liberations.

**The liberation of September, 1944, made Bulgaria part of the world transition from capitalism to socialism.**

The socialist Bulgaria which emerged from this victory has, over the past four decades and overcoming many difficulties, built a new life for its people.

From grinding poverty, they have progressed to ever-growing prosperity.

Once considered the "backyard of Europe", Bulgaria is to-day among the first 30 developed countries in the world, with a powerful manufacturing industry and a collectivised agriculture, with a flourishing external trade with over 70 countries, a highly developed system of education, culture and social services, able to give not only its own youth but those from 105 other countries, including Sri Lanka opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Balkans, in which Bulgaria is situated, was once known as "the powder keg of Europe". Today, thanks

to the peace policy of socialist Bulgaria and its Communist Party, the Balkans have been turned into a zone of peace and stability. The leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and state, TODOR ZHIVKOV's proposal in 1981 to make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone has become a powerful impetus for strengthening this process still further.

On Bulgaria's 41st anniversary, its many friends in Sri Lanka and a host of public organisations extended to it their hearty good wishes and feelings of solidarity.

## Two

### Anniversaries

The 40th anniversary of the August Revolution which led to the foundation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was celebrated at a Public meeting at the Public Library Hall, Colombo, on September 9.

The meeting, which was accompanied by an exhibition, was organised by the Sri Lanka - Vietnam Friendship Association.

President of the Association, Mr Chandra Gunasekera, was in chair. The speakers included Rev. Wellawatte Gnanabivansa, Sarath Muttetuwegama M.P., Ms. Chandrika Kumaratunga, Mr Batty Weerakoon, and S. Sudasinghe, secretary of the association.

On February 10, the Sri Lanka - Peoples Korea Friendship Association held a meeting at the same venue to celebrate the 37th National Day of the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Korea.

Minister of Indigeneous Medicine, Mr W.J.M. Lokubandara, presided. The speakers included M.Ps Lakshman Jayakody and Dinesh Gunawardena.



# After the Northern Killings

Even though Jaffna has grown used to mass and individual killings over the past few years, the kidnapping and murder of TULF stalwarts V. Dharmalingam and A. Alalusunderam have had an impact unlike any similar incident before.

Indeed, these shocking murders may well prove to be as traumatic for the Tamils as the events at Anuradhapura were for the Sinhalese.

The total protest hartal against these killings and the massive crowds that attended the two funerals, despite the fact that all public transport had also closed down in protest, were vivid expressions of public feeling.

What shocked and jolted public opinion was the fact that both victims were men who were held in high regard. Both had remained with their people and not departed for India when the government launched its state terrorism in the north.

Mr V. Dharmalingam, in particular, was an immensely popular and respected figure. He had been an M.P. for a continuous 23 years, being re-elected in 1977 with a majority of over 27,000 votes. He moved freely with the people and was accessible to them at all times.

Progressive causes always had his support. He was a firm friend of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, heading the Lanka-Soviet Friendship League in the north and being its national Vice-President.

He also played a leading part in the work of the Sri Lanka Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, both nationally and locally. Soft-spoken and gentle in manner, he had many friends among the Sinhalese and members of other communities and believed that they could all live together one day in friendship, equality and peace.

Mr Alalusunderam, an administrative secretary of the TULF, was one of its leading speakers and a rising star in the TULF firmament. Like Mr Dharmalingam, he was critical of the "hit and run" tactics of some of the militant groups, especially the LTTE, which he thought were counter-productive.

## FOUL

Both Messrs Dharmalingam and Alalusunderam had fallen foul of some of the more extreme youth groups on earlier occasions. The former had had his jeep burnt by them, while the latter had been earlier kidnapped but later released.

Mr Dharmalingam's radical views and activities were an anathema to the wealthy exile elements who sought to fund and lead the militant movement from the safety of western and U.S. cities, while the fact that his son, D. Sidarthan, was a leading member of Umma Maheswaran's PLOTE and had even represented it at the Thimpu talks was a thorn in the flesh of certain groups in the ENLF, especially LTTE, which strongly opposes PLOTE.

The abduction and killing of these two leaders were particularly brutal. Mr Dharmalingam, for instance, had been shot in the face at point-blank range and his corpse, clad in a torn banian and verti, dumped in the local cemetery.

Who was responsible for these murders is not yet clear. Unlike in the case of the "lamp post executions" no one has claimed responsibility.

But most people here agree with the leaders of PLOTE who have openly said that one or more of the four militant groups in ENLF are responsible.

The only one of these four groups which public opinion clears of blame is the EPRLF, which has categorically condemned the murders.

Although the other groups in the ENLF have denied responsibility, these denials are unofficial and mainly confined to a few handwritten and unsigned posters.

Most people hold LTTE or a section of it as responsible while the counter-attempts to say that the killings were done by security forces disguised as militants is widely disbelieved.

## EXILES

The killing of the two ex-M.P.s has alerted large sections of public opinion here to the sinister role in some militant groups played by wealthy exile groups some of which have connections with western security services.

by

Our Jaffna Correspondent

*PLOTE has charged that the murders were "carried out by misguided groups who are misled by the paid agents of US imperialism who influence them with the large financial resources at their disposal."*

Most people here think that there is a clear connection between these killings and the attack on the Eravur Police station, which is the first major and deliberate breach of the cease fire. The obvious intention is to sabotage attempts, especially by India's leaders, to revive the disrupted Thimpu peace process.

Informed sources here say that one of the reasons for the killings was a meeting held recently in the north, where TULF leaders who remained behind met, at the request of the leadership in India, to consider and advise what should be done about the working paper that India's government and Dr H. W. Jayawardene had hammered out in their New Delhi talks.

After heated discussions, there was a narrow majority in favour of resuming talks on

this basis. Messrs Dharmalingam and Alalusunderam were, according to these sources, prominent in the ranks of those supporting a resumption of talks, as were two other ex-M.P.s who were, however, able to avoid the attention of the assassins by being away from home when they called.

*The killing of Mr Dharmalingam, in particular, is seen as a symbolic warning not merely to the TULF leaders but also to PLOTE, which was represented at Thimpu by his son, of what can happen if they agree to resume talks for a negotiated settlement.*

Although condemnation of the murders is widespread few are ready to do so publicly due to fear that the same thing may happen to them.

## DARK DAYS IN TRINCO

*(We publish, for the information of readers, a report from our correspondent in Trincomalee on last week's ethnic violence there).*

"The violence that broke out in Trincomalee and its environs in the first week of September has caused several deaths and much destruction, and seriously imperilled the fragile cease-fire agreed to nearly two months ago.

The fact that the government had to impose a 16-hour curfew for half a week before order could be restored is an index of how serious the trouble has been.

But even when there was no curfew, activities in the city were minimal, with most business and other premises, both official and unofficial, remaining closed and even public transport facilities hardly functioning.

It is not possible to estimate at this time the number of persons killed, but it is much more than the six to which the government admits.

Independent estimates put the figure at closer to 20, but they do not include those who have mysteriously disappeared after fleeing their homes, never to be heard of thereafter.

As for the destruction by arson, anyone who visits Trinco can see that the number of houses and shops burnt - almost all of them Tamil-owned - is much greater than the 15 claimed by Lankapuvath.

The estimate made by local citizens' committees of around 50 shops and 200 dwellings is nearer the mark.

## HOME GUARDS

There is little doubt that the initial cause of the troubles were the so-called Home Guards who, on the apparent selection of the District Minister, have been provided with arms. Most of them are handpicked from the small Sinhalese population of the town, hail from the South - especially the fishing village of Gandara, work in the market, and live in the fairly recent village of Sirimapura a few kilometres from the centre of town.

But the affectionate respect in which "the boys" were held has been shaken, and criticisms of both their methods and tactics are much more widespread than before.

Apart from the brutality of the murders of the two former M.P.s, most Tamils are alarmed at the determination of some of the ENLF leaders, especially those of LTTE, to enter into open confrontation with the Indian government whom most Tamils regard as anxious to help them. Suspicion of the bona fides of some of the western exile groups is also growing.

While considerable sections of public opinion here are in favour of a negotiated settlement and anxious over the disruption of the Thimpu process, belief is wide-spread

that the government of President Jayawardene is not serious about a negotiated settlement and is trying to take both the Indian government and the Tamil organisations for a ride.

There is also some criticism of the slapdash style of India's Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari, who is accused of trying to find instant solutions to deep-seated problems by merely papering over the cracks.

But, by and large, most people would have liked the cease fire and the relaxation of tensions that it brought to continue even after September 17, despite breaches. The disruption of road and rail traffic to and from Jaffna after the Eravur attack is beginning to take its toll.

These Home Guards, non of whom have any training in military or any other discipline but are nevertheless given arms by the government, have used these arms to go on a spree of looting and burning of Tamil shops and houses.

Much of the loot was transported openly in the lorries and vehicles of local Sinhalese contractors and transporters. Shops were burnt after looting them, and dwelling houses after ordering the inhabitants out.

*A point worth noting is that many of the Tamil victims of these attacks were those of Indian origin, who had been settled by the so-called Gandhian movement. Many shopkeepers were those who had come to Trincomalee to recoup their fortunes after having their shops destroyed in the racist riots in Colombo in 1983.*

## POLICE

The Police took little or no action to quell the rioting, being concerned, as elsewhere, mainly with their own defence.

They now claim to have arrested 20 people for arson, but this is still to be confirmed. The Police have, however, been supplied with the names of arsonists who have identified.

As for servicemen, they have mainly "held the ring" while the Home Guards and arsonists did their work. There have been allegations that some of them, dressed in "civies", also joined in the looting, but no hard evidence of this had been yet established.

These events led, in turn to armed attacks by militant Tamil youth groups (the so-called "boys") on Sinhalese residents, especially on those at Sirimapura which is believed to be the centre from which the Home Guards operate, apart from the market.

These attacks have caused several hundreds of Sinhalese residents to flee their homes and try to escape to the southern province areas from which they came originally.

Tamils have mainly fled to other areas of the province

although there are still Sinhalese refugees remaining here.

The plight of both sets of refugees - mostly uninvolved civilians, including women and children - is abysmal, and government relief is scanty and inadequate, with many officials who should be helping these refugees not to be found or refusing to take the risk of entering disturbed areas.

## CRITICISM

While anti-Tamil feeling and fear is present in a big way among the Sinhalese refugees, there is also sharp criticism of District Minister Nelson and the M.P. for Seruwila whose recklessness is held to have contributed in no small way to their plight.

What people of all communities here say about President Jayawardene and his government, especially National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, cannot be printed. Such views are however not confined to civilians, and several lower rank servicemen also express them quite openly.

At the time of writing, there seems to be uneasy system of dual control of Trinco and its environs.

The "boys" are in effective control and running the show in several areas - especially past the third milepost on the Nilaveli Road. The Home Guards and the services maintain a nervous control in parts of the town, always trigger-happy and looking over their shoulders as most of the town's inhabitants are Tamils.

In fact one of the main jobs of what civilian authority that nominally functions, as well as the services and the Police, is to advise Sinhalese residents to leave the area as a major "terrorist offensive" may take place any time and their safety cannot be ensured.

Supporters of "the boys" say that this is only a ruse to get rid of the Sinhalese population so as to have a clear field for massive bombing of the area once the cease fire ends.

But between the two, normal peaceful life in Trincomalee has disappeared and no one knows when - if ever - it will return. As for the curfew, people say that its presence or removal makes no difference as many incidents of looting took place with impunity while it was on.



# "Jolly Good Show" at Eravur

As the first major breach in the cease fire, the attack launched by some sections of Tamil militant youth on the Eravur Police Station has naturally caused anxiety and alarm.

But all it elicited from National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali was the comment that the policemen at the station put up a "good show".

The Minister's elegant command of the English language has been honed at the Oxford University, London's Inns of Court, and Colombo's Law Library. But now our Generalissimo, who publicly admitted sometime back that he has no power to issue orders to anyone, seems also to have absorbed the lingo of the officers' mess and the rugger pavilion.

I don't know exactly how many people - both militants and policemen - were killed and wounded in this event. Judging from the number of ambulances bearing dead and wounded from the Ratmalana airport to Colombo mortuaries and hospitals afterwards, the figure is obviously higher than what the government admits to.

But whatever the number and whoever was killed or injured, is the extent of death and destruction doled out by either side an index of whether or not there was a "jolly good show, old boy"?

Incidentally, I notice that Minister Lalith also claimed through the media that he had anticipated this attack and doubled the Police strength at the Eravur Police station in order to repulse it.

But I also read in the SUN (5/9), the statements of the injured Police survivors of the attack, which are much more revealing and credible.

Constable Chandratilleke said: "With the weapons and number of officers we had, we are lucky to be alive. How can our rifles match their sophisticated equipment?"

Constable Chandrasena said "his ammunition ran out. He checked on three other rifles and found that they too were empty".

If the Minister was forewarned, or anticipated this attack and had ordered the police personnel at the Eravur Police Station doubled, why did he not also see that they were supplied with more up-to-date and adequate weapons or, at least, with those which will fire? We await an answer and it doesn't matter if it is delivered in the language of the Oxford Union or the officers' mess or whatever. Posthumous promotions of the dead are no answer.

Nanda Ranaweera  
Ratmalana

## War-Shouters

When I listen to those who shout "war" as the only means to destroy the "terrorists" (i.e. Tamils), and who ridicule the possibility of

a peaceful and negotiated political solution, I always want to suggest that the government should conscript these war-shouters, arm them and send them to the "front" to prove that their deeds match their words.

I can't help noticing that these super-patriots are always ready for war provided someone else has to do the fighting and dying while they remain happily and safely at home.!

Edward Adihetty

Chilaw

## Fathers & Sons

What sort of man is Mr S.C. Chandrasenan?

To return to India, from which he was deported, he agreed to make a public statement to support Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's efforts to help to find a solution to our ethnic troubles.

But no sooner was the deportation order vacated than Mr C. comes out with a public statement that the working paper for a settlement, with which the Indian Government is closely associated, is "unsatisfactory".

He is also reported to have opposed any negotiated settlement on the grounds that "the Sinhalese cannot be trusted".

Is this the same man who had so much confidence in the "Sinhalese politician", Minister Gamini Dissanayake, as to shelter in his house during the anti-Tamil racist violence of 1983?

When I compare Mr Chandrasenan with his highly-respected father, the late Mr S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, I cannot help thinking: "What a father and what a son!"

The Tamil organisations which now negotiating a settlement with the government, would do well to beware of men like this, and not give them prominent positions that they do not deserve in these negotiations.

V. Murugesu

Colombo 5

## Sanctions

Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed voiced the feelings of all Sri Lankans when, at the meeting of Non-aligned Foreign Ministers at Luanda, Angola, he said, in regard to what is happening now in South Africa, that:

"Given the multi-dimensional threats to peace and security in Africa, it is hardly possible to counter the argument that nothing less than mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter can bring about that result".

But our government should not stop at saying that the U.N. should impose mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa. It should set an example by imposing such sanctions itself, as other countries have unilaterally done.

It will be hypocrisy to call for sanctions and, at the same time, to continue to do business as usual with the apartheid regime, especially in the purchase of weapons and armaments.

M.M. Cader

Dematagoda

## Israeli Lobby

The Israeli lobby in Sri Lanka leaves no stone unturned in their efforts to get recognition for Israel.

These efforts have been stepped up still further after the new head of the "Israeli intersets section", Mr Haim de Vond, arrived a few weeks ago.

Now the super-terrorists of zionism seek to use the so-called "terrorist problem" in Sri Lanka to sell their wares. The gullible Minister of State and Lankapuvath are their transmission lines.

Recently, T. V. viewers were treated to the unedifying spectacle of the Minister, with his stomach full of undigested dead rope fed to him by the Israeli lobby, trying to connect the PLO with the so-called Eelam "terrorists".



But even his supportive audience were obviously not impressed, as they could be seen eating, smoking and talking to each other without bothering to listen to the balderdash that the Minister kept spouting.

Once again, the Minister (amplified by Lankapuvath) spilled out the familiar poison about the P.L.O. giving military training to the Eelam terrorists.

The new twist was the Lankapuvath report that, after India's Prime Minister had deported the reactionary exile Tamil leaders, Umma Maheswaran of PLOTE had "fled to Lebanon" to resume his connections with the P.L.O.

But, apart from the fact that Lankapuvath had to admit later that Umma Maheswaran is still in India and had even had discussions with India's government leaders, the Minister remains oblivious - whether deliberately or otherwise, I cannot say - that there is no PLO in Lebanon; that the PLO has repeatedly and officially denied this slander and re-emphasised its cordial and friendly relations with Sri Lanka and its respect for our sovereignty; and that Lankapuvath has repeatedly tried to foist on the P.L.O. an alleged connection between some terrorists and the PFLP., with which the P.L.O. has no connection.

None of us have forgotten the Minister's statements accusing the K.G.B. of master-minding the 1983 racist riots and his tall talk about a "four-stage Marxist conspiracy". What he does not care to mention is that Israel's MOSSAD and SHIN BETH are actually master-minding many excesses and tactics of our new "commando" units.

If President Jayawardene has any respect for truth, he would not keep Mr Anandattissa de Alwis in this sensitive post.

R. S. de Silva

Colombo 10

## N.S.S.P

I was interested to see that my letter to your issue of September 1st on the above subject has provoked a front-page reply in the ISLAND of September 6 from Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the main public relations figure of the N.S.S.P.

Mr Nanayakkara says that my speculation whether the sudden departure of a number of top figures of the N.S.S.P. to London was to have political differences that had surfaced within that party sorted

out by the Ted Grant fragment of the Fourth International to which it belongs is "not at all correct".

Nevertheless, he does admit that this N.S.S.P. delegation did go to London "to participate in an international leftist parley". He does not choose to enlighten his readers about what the "parley" was about or who the other "international leftists" who took part in it are.

However he does, by implication, concede that there are differences of view within the N.S.S.P. "Whatever differences of opinion we have within the party", says he "could be described as 'technical and logistical', meaning that as far as our fundamental ideology is concerned, we are not at odds with each other".

*Just as one man's meat may be another man's poison, so Vasudeva's "technical and logistical" differences may be regarded by others as being really political, tactical and, maybe, strategical.*

I am not so unreasonable as to expect Vasudeva to wash the dirty linen of the N.S.S.P. in public. But I consider it significant that the bigger part of his interview to the ISLAND

consists in emphasizing the quite correct position that acceptance of a nation's right to self-determination does not automatically mean advocacy of its need to express this right through separation. A similar point was made by Pieter Keuneman in his speech which you published in the same issue of FORWARD(1/9).

But nevertheless, as Vasudeva is undoubtedly aware and as I mentioned in my letter under reference, the General Secretary of the N.S.S.P., Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, is on record in his "Letter to a Samasamajist" as insisting that recognition of the right of the Tamils to self-determination has no meaning unless it also includes advocacy of a separate state (a point also made by LTTE leaders like Prabakaran and Balasingham) as well as the joining up of independent Eelam with Tamilnad.

Perhaps Vasudeva will enlighten us on which view is official N.S.S.P. policy, which has been approved as correct by Ted Grant, and whether this difference is "technical" or, more likely, "logistical"?

Vasudeva is also at pains to deny that the demonstration in which the N.S.S.P. leaders marched in London on "Black Friday" to commemorate the 1983 massacre of Tamils was not pro-Eelam although many pro-Eelam groups took a prominent part in its organisation and slogans.

The N.S.S.P., he says, marched with them but shouted its own slogans.

Maybe this explains why the photograph of the demonstration shows Vasudeva marching like a prisoner, literally being dragged along like a lamb to the slaughter. It is so different from the Vasudeva we know who, even if there are only a few others on a demonstration, is always in the front, shouting the loudest and waving his fist.

I am sorry if Vasudeva thinks that people who want to foist the views of his General Secretary on him are anxious to have him "bumped off", to quote his own words. I yield to none in the hope that such a calamity may never happen. Sri Lanka politics would, in such a case, lose a most colourful and contentious figure; the N.S.S.P. would lose its only mass figure with his ear to the ground and the Left movement its equivalent of cricket's mascot "Percy" who, undaunted, is ever ready in solitary splendour to accompany the home team back to the pavilion with the flag flying.

Kunrar Ganeshalingam

Colombo 12



# RELEASE NELSON MANDELA

The following statement was issued by M.G. Mendis President of Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions:-

"The Government of South Africa has continued to practice the inhuman policy of apartheid despite the fact that this policy has been declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations in 1963. The behaviour of the racist regime in South Africa, since the unanimous resolution of the United Nations, has shown that it is not prepared to abolish the policy of apartheid. In fact the reactionary regime has intensified state terrorism against the black majority population in South Africa. It had continued its repressive measures against peoples' organisations and trade unions.

The African National Congress was banned and its leader Nelson Mandela has been incarcerated in jail for over two decades. Innocent peoples' lives have been lost and democrats and trade union leaders and activists have been murdered. The suppression of trade unions and democratic organisations is one of the most heinous crimes committed by the government

against the working class of South Africa. The recent escalation of violence in South Africa has caused grave concern to the peoples and governments throughout the world. Many governments have already severed trade relations and a number of governments have imposed economic sanctions against the South African government.

Consequent to pressure from the international community it was hoped that the South African government would take steps to eliminate the scourge of apartheid. However, the recent statement by Presi-

dent P.W. Botha has shattered all those hopes.

As such it has become a paramount task of all trade unions to stand in solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against the tyrannical regime in this country.

The CFTU, therefore, condemns the actions of the white racist regime and calls upon the government in Pretoria to abandon the disastrous policy of apartheid and cause the unconditional release of black nationalist leader NELSON MANDELA".

# Solidarity With Namibia

19 years ago - on 26 August 1966 - the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) began its heroic liberation struggle against the South African racist forces occupying Namibia.

rule over that territory thereby defying international opinion, denying the Namibian people their right to self-determination, and blocking all attempts at solving this problem by peaceful means.

Two months later, the U.N. General Assembly, through resolution 2145, put an end to South Africa's mandate over that territory, thereby illegalising South Africa's continued presence there.

They have boycotted the implementation of the U.N. plan for Namibia's independence set out in the U.N. Security Council's resolution No 435/78.

But despite this, the South African racists have intensified and extended their racist domination and apartheid

SWAPO has been recognised as the sole and legitimate representative of Namibia's fighting people by the U.N., the Non-aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity, and other international organisations, at state and mass levels.

# CHINA CELEBRATES VICTORY

"China's war of resistance was an integral part of the international anti-fascist war", said PENG ZHEN, Chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress, in the course of a keynote speech to a meeting in Beijing to mark the victory of the war of resistance to Japanese aggression and of the world war against fascism.

Peng Zhen said that China's resistance to Japanese aggression had also helped the struggle against fascism in Europe.

The war of resistance to Japanese aggression, he added, was the greatest war of national liberation in China's modern history.

Victory in this war had quickened the tempo of the Chinese revolution and laid a solid foundation for the victory of the Chinese peoples' democratic revolution.

On the occasion of the 19th anniversary of its heroic liberation armed struggle, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka re-iterated its firm support and solidarity with SWAPO, the Liberation Popular Army and the people of Namibia in their just struggle for national independence.

It condemned the attempts of the South African racists to impose a puppet government on Namibia against the will of her peoples, as well as its other attempts to impose a neo-colonialist order there.

The most prominent leaders of party and state in China were present on the platform at this meeting, which was attended by over 10,000 delegates from different parts of the country.

He also paid tribute to the contribution made to final victory by the counter-offensive launched by the Anglo-American forces in the Asian and Pacific region and by the struggles of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Continuing, Peng Zhen said that China was the primary theatre of the fight against Japanese fascist aggression. China had also dispatched an expeditionary force to Burma in direct support of the Allied forces in their fight against Japan in the Far East.

"The victory of the war in Europe, and the heavy blows dealt to the German fascists by the Soviet Union in particular, provided strong support for China", he added.

He said that the participation of Soviet armed forces in the war against Japan in north-east China hastened the victory of the anti-fascist war.

Don't Punish Strikers, Say These Girls



## Detenus: Trial or Release

Tamil political detenus, who have been held in Welikada prison for over 18 months, have started a fast to demand that they should either be tried or released. There are about 126 persons held here in detention.

Supporting fasts have also been carried out by students of the Jaffna University.

Trade unionists of the CFTU and other organisations in Jaffna, as well as Communists under the Jaffna District Committee of the CPSL, have taken part in several demonstrations and picketing campaigns in support of the demand that these political detenus should be tried or released.

Hundreds of Jaffna citizens are also joining the protest.



Bank clerks continue their picketing campaign to demand the removal of penalties imposed on their union militants.

## Why They Help Apartheid

Heavy investment in South Africa by transnational corporations based on the U.S., Britain and West Germany is one of the main reasons why the governments of these countries take a 'soft line' towards the outrages of the Pretoria regime and stubbornly oppose the world-wide demand for political and economic sanctions against South Africa until political prisoners are freed, the state of emergency ended, and the monstrous system of apartheid dismantled.

A U.N. report, published on 4 September 1985, reveals that 1,068 TNCs had affiliates in South Africa in 1984.

406 of these were from the USA, 364 from Great Britain, and 142 from West Germany.

Of the smaller TNCs with investments in the apartheid state, Australia had 24, Canada 21, France 20, Netherlands 17, Sweden 18 and Switzerland 32.

Nearly one million workers, 400,000 of them black, are employed by these TNCs.

They form one-tenth of South Africa's work force of 10.1 million, of whom 8.1 million are black.



# "ANNEXURE C" ONCE AGAIN?

Is the government really serious about a negotiated settlement of the ethnic crisis?

Or is it merely engaged in a re-play of what it did over the ill-fated "Annexure C"?

These questions are now being openly asked - but not answered - in political circles.

A number of factors combined to compel the government to suspend its efforts at a military solution of the ethnic crisis and to agree to start discussions with the TULF and the main guerilla groups on the basis of a cease fire and certain concessional adjustments.

Heavy political pressure, both domestic and foreign, for a political solution through negotiations was a major factor. The campaign of the CPSL - LSSP - SLMP alliance for such talks, which was later backed by the Maha Sangha and the S.L.F.P., played a major role in the domestic pressures, while heavy lobbying from India and, indeed, from the government's western friends tipped the scale internationally.

On top of this, the "military solution" itself was not going well. Itself divided, with its, armed forces demoralised and often, as at Anuradhapura, out-maneuvred and out-fought, the government was pushed onto the defensive and its credibility among the people, especially the Sinhalese, hit a new low.

With heavy expenditure on arms and war supplies (a good part of which was inferior junk dumped on it through shady deals by close kinsmen of VVIPs acting as commission agents for crooked merchants of death peddling inferior arms at high prices to gullible Third World governments), its economic scenario became so bleak that the Minister of Finance had repeatedly to warn publicly that an anticipated deficit of Rs 32 billion made it impossible for him to construct a viable or even credible budget for 1986.

## ★ THIMPU

Faced with these grim realities, the government agreed to go to Thimpu. But what it did at both Thimpu I and Thimpu II hardly reflects any credit on it.

Government knew that it had only a limited time-frame in which to work out an agreed settlement. The official cease-fire was due to end on September 17, and even this was extremely tenuous.

Yet the government went to Thimpu I without any new proposals (not even those which President Jayawardene had indicated to Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his pre-Thimpu talks with him), but instead sent a delegation of lawyers without any serious political clout or capacity for on-the-spot decisions. The maladroit

performance of this delegation at Thimpu II contributed in no small way to its breakdown.

Everything points to the fact that the government hoped that India's Prime Minister would persuade the TULF and arm-twist the recalcitrant guerilla groups to accept whatever "settlement" it offered. But although Shri Rajiv Gandhi was prepared to take a firm line with the guerilla groups operating from Indian soil, he showed no readiness to play the role that our government hoped he would play.

## ★ PERSPECTIVES

The collapse of Thimpu II set new and lower perspectives for the negotiations.

Whereas both Thimpu I and Thimpu II had been nominally concerned with working out an agreed, albeit limited, formula for ethnic peace, the main aim now became one of finding an agreed formula which could be a basis for the ruptured talks to resume.



On the initiative of India's government, some progress in this matter was made when, in discussions at New Delhi with President Jayawardene's special plenipotentiary, Dr H.W. Jayawardene P.C., a "working paper" which set out broad lines for a settlement was evolved.

But, as in the earlier case of the ill-fated "Annexure C", which had been evolved in tri-partite discussions in India between President Jayawardene, the TULF leaders and India's then Prime Minister, Ms. Indira Gandhi and on the basis of which the All-Parties Conference was originally summoned, our government had been distancing itself from its own document ever since.

## ★ BACK OUT

First of all, Dr H.W. Jayawardene, after discussions with his elder brother and political chief, went on record that he had initialled the "working paper" merely "for purposes of identification" and not because it represented suggestions or proposals of the government on the basis of which the disrupted discussions could resume.

Secondly, two Cabinet meetings were allowed to pass without discussion of the "working paper". Although

the Minister of State had announced that the Cabinet would consider the "working paper" on September 4, this did not happen, and no explanation why has yet been made. The Cabinet meeting due on September 11 was also mysteriously cancelled.

To make matters worse, a delegation led by the Deputy Minister of Justice was asked to consult the U.S. government for its views on how far the terms of the working paper coincided with the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. The government has obviously not yet learnt how costly and how detrimental have been its previous attempts to involve the U.S. in our ethnic disputes.

All this feet-shuffling and dilly-dallying has gone on against a background where the official cease fire is due to expire on September 17 and where breaches on both sides make it even more difficult to renew.

## ★ DIFFERENCES

It has become obvious that the government is ham-strung in this matter by not-so-

disguised differences within the Cabinet and the ruling party.

Some time back President Jayawardene threatened to dismiss any Minister or M.P., who opposed any agreement he entered into, and to dissolve Parliament if it did the same. But, as on so many other occasions, it looks as though our "democratic" President is only capable of being tough with the weak.

While the government shilly-shallies on the search for a political solution, there is more than enough evidence to show that it has been hyper-active in using the period of the cease fire to buy military hardware, arms and ammunition on a large scale from the private arms markets abroad. It has sent over 200 specially selected servicemen to Pakistan for a crash training course in the use of these new weapons and equipment.

The question that is being asked is whether the government has now decided to go back to the military option, starting with a major offensive once the cease fire expires?

## ★ MILITANTS

It also seems clear that some of the militant groups in the ENLF, especially the LTTE, are also itching to settle matters with guns.

Their denunciations of Shri Rajiv Gandhi (who is now a prominent figure in their pantheon of hate, together with President Jayawardene and the TULF leaders), their hide-and-seek tactics towards invitations by the Indian government for discussions: and their attempts to terrorise Sinhalese civilians to flee from what they consider to be "traditional Tamil homelands" are not those of persons anxious to explore possibilities of a negotiated settlement.

The despicable murders of TULF stalwarts like Messrs V. Dharmalingam and A. Alalanderam (which seem clearly to be the work of one or more groups in the ENLF) only confirms this. Indeed, it is worth noting that, of the four groups in the ENLF, only the EPRLF had categorically condemned these killings while the others have only disassociated themselves in different unofficial ways from them. Most people hold the LTTE, or a section of it, responsible and PLOTE leaders, including the late Mr Dharmalingam's son, have openly said so.

## ★ ULTRA-LEFT

The government's foot-dragging over the resumption of the negotiation process has only encouraged the anti-Thimpu forces both here and in India to become more bold.

In India, the Lok Dal leader Subramanian Swamy, M.P. one of the most notorious pro-Americans in that country, has renewed the call for sending the Indian army to Sri Lanka. The DMK's Karunanidhi has also begun to stoke up his fires.

In Sri Lanka, the anti-Thimpu forces are not confined to sections of the UNP or to the SLFP and its so-called "National Front". Sections of the ultra-left are unfortunately also helping them.

The JVP is circulating cassettes of Wijeweera's recorded speech which once again raises the bogey of "Indian expansionism", while the NSSP flays the CPSL-LSSP-SLMP alliance for supporting the attempt at a political settlement at Thimpu on the grounds that this will help the "Bonapartist" J.R. Jayawardene to consolidate himself.

Obviously the pundits of the NSSP have not given thought to the fact that the unresolved ethnic crisis is the main card used by the UNP government to trample down all working class and democratic opposition to it.

## ★ VICTORY

Sri Lanka's victory over India in the second Test encounter last week - our first in Test cricket - was certainly a gleam of light in an otherwise encircling darkness.

We join with the rest of the country in congratulating skipper Duleep Mendis and his men.

But was this such a "famous victory" as to deserve an over-reacting President Jayawardene declare a national public holiday?

President Jayawardene has few victories to rejoice over nowadays. But should heads of state behave like Principals of posh colleges after the "battle of the blues" and similar encounters?

What would President Jayawardene do, one wonders, if we had lost. Would he have declared a day of national mourning?

Boys will be boys. But Presidents who are nearing their eighties should not try to emulate them.

## ★ DETENUS

The government should not continue to ignore the swelling demand that the Tamil youth whom it has held in detention for over 18 months should either be charged before the courts or released.

In Welikada Prison, nearly 130 such detenus have been conducting a "rolling" hunger-fast around this demand since August 27. A similar sympathy fast, started by university students in Jaffna, has begun to escalate into a demonstration of the broadest sections of its citizenry, more and more of whom are taking turns to join the fast or the accompanying picketing campaign.

The capricious nature of the arrests and detentions of most of the Tamil youth was proved when, together with the cease fire three months ago, the government released many hundreds of similar Tamil youth whom it had kept in detention for many months without reason or explanation.

This government's record in the matter of arbitrary arrest and detentions is notorious and is not confined to Tamils. Leaders of the CPSL, the SLMP, and the NSSP have been locked up for months without reason or charge and then released in the face of public protest. The J.V.P. remains proscribed in the same way. The S.L.F.P. and the L.S.S.P. are the only two Opposition parties that have been spared so far.

We support the demand that the detenus should be charged or released and that even those who are charged should be treated as political prisoners rather than common criminals.