

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 Nos. 38-39

October 23-30, 1982

## High office to Amir

# 'NATIONAL GOVT' MOVE?

Speculation is rife in Jaffna that the Leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam, may be offered a high office in the Government in a move that will eventually lead to the formation of a National Government in the country.

The name of Mr. Anura Bandaranaike is also being mentioned in this connection. Certain constitutional changes that

require a two-third majority are believed to be under contemplation that could facilitate this process.

The holding of a referendum seeking the extension of the life of Parliament by six years from August 1983 and a complete revamping of the Cabinet and the Parliamentary Group are believed to be steps that will help in this direction.

Political observers in

Colombo say that the idea of a National Government has always been a pet idea that President Jayawardene has been nurturing. It is believed that such a government that will cut through party differences and draw in talent from non-UNP sources could not only help in the continuity of the Government's economic programme but solve the vexing "TAMIL PROBLEM" as well.

Meanwhile Cabinet Ministers and Government M.Ps have tendered their resignations to President Jayawardene following the Cabinet decision to go for a referendum extending the life of Parliament.

It is believed that the referendum would be held before Christmas this year. The referendum will seek a simple 'YES' or 'NO' from the voters.

We apologise to readers for the non-appearance of our paper last Saturday caused by an unfortunate set of circumstances. We are, however, taking advantage of the omission to advance the publishing schedules to ensure that all our local subscribers get their SATURDAY REVIEW by post on Saturday itself.

## 3 Policemen Killed : 33 guns stolen :

## Police declare sudden curfew in Jaffna

Three policemen on duty at the Chavakachcheri Police Station were shot dead in a lightning dawn attack by a party of armed youth on Wednesday, October 27th. About 12 hours later, the the Policy imposed an instant 12-hour curfew from 6. p.m. to 6 a.m. in the Jaffna district creating panic and confusion among the public. Guns and ammunition at the Police Station were also stolen along with some files. The weapons consisted of two sub machine guns, 9 rifles, one pistol, 19 repeater guns, and two shot guns. The dead men are P. C. Kandiah of Mirusuvil, P. C. Karunananden of Uduvil and P. C. Tillekeratne of Kegalle.

A remand suspect in a murder case who happened to be under lock-up at the Police Station, Kandiah Selvam, also died in the cross fire.

P. C. Jayatilleke who had jumped down from the upper storey of the Police Station was injured by the fall. He has been admitted to the Jaffna General Hospital along with Sergeant Kandiah who suffered gunshot injuries. Two more remand prisoners, Karthigesu and Aiyathurai were also wounded.

It is believed that there was an exchange of fire for about 15 minutes.

The unknown youth attackers had come to the Police Station in a blue minibus at about 5.30 a.m. and had blocked the Pallai-Jaffna main road with trees to prevent traffic. P. C. Kandiah who was on duty seated in the verandah was fired at first. He is reported to have returned the fire but was soon shot dead. The other two policemen died in the ensuing shoot-out. Unconfirmed reports say that a second vehicle was also used in the operation, but no trace of it has been established at the time of our going to press.

The Chavakachcheri

Police Station is in close proximity to the residence of the M.P. for Chavakachcheri, Mr. V. N. Navaratnam.

The driver and cleaner of the minibus who were blindfolded and gagged and later dropped at Puttur have surrendered to the Police but the vehicle has not yet been traced.

It is reported that a youth had hired the minibus in advance on Tuesday night to travel to Thillaiyampalam Pillaiyar Kovil at Varany next morning. Making an advance payment he had requested the driver to come at 4 a.m. next morning to Raja Vee-

thy, Jaffna. When the driver approached the road the next morning two men in verti and shawl stopped the mini-bus. About six or seven armed youth in trousers had then boarded the vehicle and had blindfolded and gagged the driver and cleaner, and rolled them under the back seat. They had then proceeded to the Chavakachcheri Police Station. It is believed that two of the youths have been injured and that one of them could have died.

Army personnel who went to Chavakachcheri after the attack have discovered spent cartridges and unexploded bullets.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118,  
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Editor

S. SIVANAYAGAM

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## Tamil political journal in Jaffna muzzled

The editorial and printing offices of the "Suthanthiran" the twice-weekly Tamil political journal was sealed by the Jaffna Police on Election night. Armed guard was posted outside. It is also reported that on the following morning. Army

personnel had intercepted the postman and asked for the mail addressed to Editor Kovai Mahesan, and on his refusing to hand over had gone to Jaffna Post Office and seized the mail. Copies of the Election issue of the paper were also seized from shops in the Bazaar.

The order sealing the Press, signed by Mr. Douglas Liyanage, Secretary of the Ministry of State :

"By virtue of the

powers vested in me under Regulation 14(3) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations No. 2 of 1982, I, Don John Francis Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the MINISTRY OF STATE appointed as the Competent Authority for the purpose of Regulation 14 do hereby direct that no person shall print, publish or distribute or in any way be concerned in the printing, publication of distribution of the newspaper 'Suthanthiran' for a period of one month from the date of this order and that the printing press in which the said newspaper was printed shall for a period of one month from the date of this order not be used for any purpose whatsoever and I hereby authorise the Inspector General of Police to take such steps (including the taking possession of the said printing press or of any premises in which it is contained or of any part of such printing press or premises) as appear to him to be necessary for securing compliance with this order."

### DEATHS

**SIVANANDAN**—G. Retired O.A. Pension, General Treasury, beloved husband of Satkunam, loving father of Paramakurunathan (Central Bank), Ranjini (U.K.) and Sivaloganathan, Engineer U.K. (formerly of Port Commission, Colombo), father-in-law of Dr. Chitsabesan (U.K.) and Easwara Janani, expired. Cremated on Wednesday 20th October at General Cemetery, Kanatha.

Residence-57, Pamankade Lane, Colombo 6.

**SETHUKAVALAR**—

formerly of Royal College, Colombo, beloved husband of Maheswary, father of Aunushya (UK), Choodamani (UK), Usha, Ravindran (UK), brother of the late Balasubramaniam, Swaminathan, Sabanayagam, Eliathamby, Mrs. Muthukumar, Mrs. Illangainayagam and Mrs. Arumugam, brother-in-law of Dr. (Mrs) Sundaralingam, Mrs. Kugathan (Singapore), Mrs. Velauthampillai, Dr. Sivasubramaniam (Australia), Dr. Poopalasingam (UK) and Ganeshamoorthy (Hong Kong). Funeral took place at Keerimalai, Jaffna.

### Jaffna T. V. dealer wins trip to Japan

A Jaffna T.V. dealer Mr. V. K. Rajaratnam of 95, Stanley Road, Jaffna, who came third in the Island-wide Dealers' Competition in respect of "NATIONAL T.V. SETS" has won a free business trip to Japan for ten days. He leaves on November 7th.

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As I write, the counting of votes in Sri Lanka's first Presidential election is on while the entire nation remains tensed for the verdict, which will have a decisive influence on our internal and external policies for the next six years at least.

Whoever is elected, let us extend a big welcome to him. He is the nation's choice and, irrespective of whether he is our personal choice or not, we must all rally round OUR President.

He has a big job to do and needs the goodwill and co-operation of all of us to do that job effectively.

I hope that by the time this appears in print, all the fears entertained in various quarters and some of which were voiced through the "Saturday Review", have proved unfounded, fanciful and exaggerated, that the Police and the Armed Forces have done their duty without fear or favour and that, as a consequence, there has been comparative peace and calm in the country, particularly in the North.

If it is decided to go in for a parliamentary election immediately, the nation will have to wait until this, too, is over for the new President to get down to his main job.

Meanwhile, he should ensure that, for the nation's sake, there is no more political victimisation of any kind, even in the name of rectifying past wrongs. This sort of action serves no purpose except breed resentments, work against national unity and hamper development.

# Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

I believe that topmost priority in the new President's programme should be given to the National Question.

It must be obvious to everyone by now that unless there is peace and harmony between the various communities in the island, we shall never progress as a nation.

senseless brutality of some of the soldiers and policemen.

I guess that for every Tamil youth who is arrested and subjected to torture, on suspicion of being a "terrorist", ten more "terrorists" are born from among members of his family, other relations and friends.

How would any youth

Army.

Almost everyone of the score or more of youths arrested in connection with the murder of Jaffna Mayor Mr. Alfred Durayappah "confessed" to the crime after going through the hands of the late unlamented Inspector Bastianpillai!

Then there was the tragic

including those who use violence for political ends. But in the past five years, far too many innocent people have been roughed by the Police and the Army. That is why there is no end to the number of "terrorists" around.

All this is to stress that force is not the answer to the political problem involving the two main communities in the island. Force is likely to be met increasingly with force, as has been happening since the "emergency" action in 1979, leading eventually to civil war and the possible intervention of foreign powers.

Nor can the grant of more "concessions" to the Tamil people result in a lasting solution to the National Question. "Concessions" have been likened to crumbs falling from the table of the Big Brother. And crumbs can no longer appease the political hunger of the Tamil people which is augmented by economic hunger.

What is required is the recognition that the Tamil people also are entitled to the same fundamental rights and freedoms as are enjoyed by the major community, that they cannot be treated any more like a subject people.

If the new President wishes to be President of All Sri Lanka, then he should take up the National Question with the elected representatives of all the parties no sooner the new Government is formed.

# The National Question needs top priority

Just imagine the colossal dissipation of time, energy and resources on the maintenance of an "army of occupation" in the North!

What is more, the "military approach" has not taken the question any nearer solution. In fact, it has become more complicated as a result of the

anywhere react to a situation where a brother or friend is taken in by the security forces and treated inhumanly, especially if the action is found to be completely unjustifiable?

As has been the case with quite a number of the Tamil youths taken into custody by the Police and later handed over to the

story of Mr. K. Gunapala-singham, a famlied man of Kokuvil, who was detained and tortured at Panagoda in the false belief that he had taken part in the Neervely bank robbery and who later committed suicide in desperation.

By all means, take action within the law against persons who resort to violence

Has the guy got a surprise up his sleeve?



This is how the cartoon should have appeared in our election issue dated October 16. We apologise to readers that due to a technical oversight the cartoon got distorted.



# THE PRESIDENTIAL election

## HOW THE VOTING WENT

The total votes gained by each candidate at the Presidential Election and their percentage shares:-

J. R. Jayawardene (UNP)	3,450,811	52.91%
Hector Kobbekaduwa (SLFP)	2,548,438	39.07%
Rohana Wijeweera (JVP)	273,428	4.19%
Kumar Ponnambalam (ACTC)	173,934	2.67%
Colvin R. de Silva (LSSP)	58,531	0.90%
Vasudeva Nanayakkara (NSSP)	17,005	0.26%
Total valid votes	6,522,147	
Spoilt votes	85,520	
Total votes polled	6,607,667	
Total voting strength	8,145,015	

## Election Cameos

What are the comparative performances of the UNP and the SLFP in the 1977 elections and the Presidential elections of last week? Within these five years, the UNP has increased its support by over 2% from 50.6% in 1977 to 52.9% in 1982. The SLFP's increase in support works out to 10%—from 29.5% in 1977 to 39.07%—despite the absence from the scene of the SLFP leader Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike.

The only candidate who won votes even in districts that he did not visit at all, was Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam! In the Polonnaruwa district for example, he secured more votes than Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara. He had 228 votes to his credit as against Vasu's 141. Some of the votes that Kumar polled include: 443 in the Kalutara district; 474 in Matara; 425 in Galle; 509 in Kurunegala; 222 in Anuradhapura; 422 in Ratnapura; and 376 in Kegalle. In the Digamadulla district (better known as Amparai) Kumar got more than 5% of the vote. He had 8,079 as against the J. V.P.'s 7,679, Colvin's 967 and & Vasu's 377.

The narrowest majority between the first and second candidates occurred in the Batticaloa district. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene edged out Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam by less than 1%. He got 48,094 votes as against Kumar's 47,095—a majority of 999. This, despite the active campaigning for the UNP by two Tamil Ministers—Minister Devanayagam and Minister Rajadurai.

Although the "battle of the Reds"—between the JVP, LSSP and the NSSP—was won as expected by the JVP, two Tamil-majority areas, Jaffna and Batticaloa, gave more votes to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva than to the JVP. In Jaffna, JVP polled 3,098 as against Colvin's 3,376 and in Batticaloa 1,287 as against Colvin's 1,294.

The lowest turn-out of voters were in districts with Tamil concentrations. The national average is over 80%, but in Jaffna only 44.16% polled; in Vanni, 59.4%; in Batticaloa 69.6%; and in Trincomalee 70.03%.

Remember the drama at Kilinochchi when Mr. J. R. Jayawardene on his campaign tour asked the crowd to raise their hands if they wanted a separate district for Kilinochchi and a shower of hands went up? How did the Kilinochchi electorate vote? Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam polled the highest—9,822, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa got 4,188. The UNP was third, with 3,616.

Although Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam won the highest vote in the Jaffna district, there were some electorates in the district that gave the highest votes to the SLFP. They are: Kopay (13,546); Kankesanturai, represented by T.U.L.F. leader A. Amirthalingam (9,523); Manipay (9,008); Udupiddy (8,155); and Point Pedro (6,348).

Here is a final titbit. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa managed to get in his own electorate—Yatinuwara—only 17,396 votes. He polled less than the UNP. Kopay electorate in the Jaffna district gave him the handsome highest—13,768. Which probably qualifies him to be M.P. for Kopay than for Yatinuwara!

Districts	Total Polled	Registered Voters	Voting percentages
1. Colombo	764,021	972,196	79%
2. Gampaha	702,830	835,265	85%
3. Kalutara	427,182	499,215	85%
4. Kandy	488,845	564,767	86%
5. Matale	163,228	187,276	78%
6. Nuwara Eliya	174,817	201,878	86%
7. Galle	426,336	512,489	83%
8. Matara	337,074	399,888	85%
9. Hambantota	199,082	244,956	82%
10. Jaffna	228,618	493,705	46%
11. Vanni	73,186	119,093	65%
12. Batticaloa	122,955	172,480	70%
13. Digamadulla (Amparai)	163,071	204,268	79%
14. Trincomalee	95,391	133,646	70%
15. Kurunegala	625,409	717,505	87%
16. Puttalam	219,975	267,675	85%
17. Anuradhapura	238,817	278,594	85%
18. Polonnaruwa	106,679	127,624	85%
19. Badulla	240,422	280,187	79%
20. Moneragalla	105,363	126,558	83%
21. Ratnapura	349,011	402,202	86%
22. Kegalle	347,299	406,548	85%
<b>TOTAL.</b>	<b>6,599,611</b>	<b>8,148,015</b>	<b>80%</b>

**Note:** The totals polled include the spoilt or rejected votes. The districts in black are those containing concentrations of Tamil speaking peoples. The Amparai district which has been now re-named Digamadulla following State-sponsored Sinhala colonisation has now a Sinhala-speaking population of 146,371 as against a Tamil-speaking population of 241,206.

## How the 11 Electorates in the Jaffna District voted

	U. N. P.	S. L. F. P.	T. C.	N. S. S. P.	L. S. S. P.	J. V. P.
1. Jaffna	6,419	3,258	9,319	196	134	176
2. Kayts	4,067	3,393	8,353	98	157	119
3. Vaddukoddai	3,700	7,770	9,741	254	257	380
4. Manipay	4,468	9,008	7,514	298	483	559
5. Kankesanturai	3,771	9,523	6,065	184	310	341
6. Udupiddy	2,282	8,155	5,779	224	353	208
7. Point Pedro	3,198	6,348	5,367	181	150	217
8. Kopay	3,546	13,768	4,984	182	423	379
9. Nallur	4,831	4,330	8,979	243	332	244
10. Chavakachcheri	3,629	6,127	9,742	125	419	204
11. Kilinochchi	3,616	4,188	9,822	181	150	217
Postal Voting	1,253	1,431	1,598	127	120	111
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44,780</b>	<b>77,299</b>	<b>87,263</b>	<b>2,293</b>	<b>3,288</b>	<b>3,155</b>



Over a decade back this writer saw a Tamil film. A comedian taking a son's role complained to his friends saying that his father had driven him away from home calling him a dog. The friends inquired what the outcome was. The comedian replied that when he left home he called the father a dog and asked him to guard the house. One is not sure what the Director of the film wanted to convey. But one thing is clear—it is now no longer a one way traffic from parents to children—it is now a two way traffic. Sooner the parents realize this, it is better for both and the community.

For convenience we shall divide into four categories the relationship displayed between parents and children.

#### Orthodox and enlightened types

The first is the orthodox type. The parents stick to old traditions and orders given, whether right or wrong, should be obeyed. In this case either the children take the orders by conviction that the parents must be right or they are too frightened to disobey. Whether right or wrong the system works but one is not sure how such children behave once they are out of parental control.

The second is the case with enlightened parents. They treat the children as friends and discuss freely—like Lord Shiva and Saint Sundaramoorthy or like Krishna and Arjuna. They respect each other and drive home a point easily. The motto here appears to be that two heads are better than one. This group's point of view can be illustrated with what happened between a father (Mr Thambu, Magistrate) and his son (Mr Thambu well known Advocate) in the late 19th century. On a small matter the father told the son "if I can do it why can't you do it". The son replied with a smile "That is my point. You can do it as you are a son of a farmer and I can't do it as I am a son of a Magistrate". The father smiled and gave in, remarking "My son, you win".

#### The third and fourth groups

The third group is where each side is not prepared to give in. The more the parents argue the more the children resist. This is an unfortunate group where life at home is a misery to all.

# Parents-children: A 2-way traffic now

The fourth group is still worse. Here virtually the children give the orders and parents meekly follow. Besides parental affection, this is also due to some parents getting the idea that the children are more educated and therefore should know better. Unfortunately this is not the case as the children have only learnt from books while the parents have learnt from the book of life.

The writer came across a sad case some years back in a small town in Uva. The son was a Government Officer of some rank. The father, a typical villager from the hill country had come to stay for a few days with the son. The son introduced the father as an elderly person from his village. Both used to go to the river for bathing and the son used to leave his wet sarong for the father to wash. The son had a feeling that if the old man were introduced as the father, the people would not think much about his standing. However the people thought otherwise. They remarked 'how can we get a square deal from a man who treats his father shabbily'. The writer has come across many cases where the children dictate to their parents. In such cases he used to remind the parents what his mother had remarked to him—'whatever position you may hold is immaterial as far as my relationship with you is concerned—I am your mother and you are my son'.

#### Fresh thinking is needed

Some re-thinking is needed for the third and fourth groups. We are not living in a vacuum—we live in a society and when the children are exposed in many ways outside the homes they bring home ideas which may not be quite the same as at home. This has to be acknowledged by the parents and some compromise has to be made taking into consideration changing values. However there can be no compromise on fundamental values such as on children telling lies or when their conduct is im-

proper, but on many trivial mundane matters nothing should be raised as an issue. They should be nipped in the bud. At the same time it is grossly unfair for the parents to watch and do nothing when the children go wrong. Naturally some skill is needed in this changing world for the parents to adapt themselves to meet the many demands of the children, some of which

Government Agent of a district, an Assistant Shroff was a problem to the Shroff. When the Shroff could no longer put up with it, it was brought to the notice of the writer, who after proper inquiry warned the Assistant Shroff. He immediately gave in his resignation. The writer took no action and allowed time for the young man to cool off. Within a couple of days the father of the

should apologise and withdraw the letter of resignation. It took considerable time for the father to persuade the son as he was too proud to do as requested. However the episode ended well. This shows how the parents bring ruin to their children by giving in for anything and everything from early childhood.

Like many things in life the relationship between parents and children has no single rule for universal application. The respect for parents and elders is still maintained in most rural areas. In urban areas, some fresh thinking is needed by parents to understand and appreciate the changing attitudes of the younger generation. Equally youngsters should be made to appreciate the advice of parents and elders which is given with the best of intentions. Though traditional parental authority need not be insisted, some form of authority is needed for children so that we would have a disciplined race.

## PERSPECTIVES

By  
**Nagamuttu**

may not be too pleasant.

What should worry society, particularly our society, is about the fourth group where parents virtually take orders from the children. Though it is a private matter between parents and children, there is no doubt that these children become a problem to society. Many years ago when the writer was a

young man turned up at the Kachcheri with a request to withdraw the letter of resignation. At the discussion it transpired that the young man has had his way all along from childhood and he would not take any ruling from another—hence his impetuosity with his resignation. The writer accommodated to the request of the father but insisted that the son

## LETTERS

15 October, 1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

#### SINHALESE VOTERS

Mr. Somasundaram Vaniasingam in his article—Eelam—(S.R. 2nd October) states inter alia "...can anything like that be visualized in Sinhala Lanka? A Sinhala Buddhist politician being ousted by a Sinhala Christian politician? This speaks volumes about ....."

In fairness to a large number of Sinhalese voters I wish to refute his statement which adverts that Sinhalese voters are influenced by religious considerations and that if contenders in an election are a Sinhala Buddhist and a non-Buddhist, the former is sure to win.

1. In the 1970 General Election a born-Christian Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, defeated Mr. J. R.

## Sinhala voting patterns

P. Suriaperuma, a Buddhist in the Dompe seat by a majority of about 14,000 votes. In the 1977 election, Mr. Bandaranaike was defeated by a slender margin of 2397 votes on account of the "UNP WAVE" that swept the Sinhalese areas and not because of any religious bias.

2. In the 1977 General Election Mr. M. L. M. Aboosally, defeated Mrs. Mallika Ratwatte in the Balangoda electorate. This electorate is a fortress of the Ratwatte families.

3. In the same election, Mr. M. H. Mohamed defeated Mr. Douglas Perera, in the Borella constituency by a majority of about 10,000 votes.

4. Mr. R. S. Perera, a Catholic represented the Kelaniya seat in the Parliament from July 1970 to 1977.

The electorates mentioned above are predominantly

Sinhalese Buddhist areas. Even LSSP and CP politicians who derided religion as the opium of masses won many times in elections and went to parliament. In other words Sinhala voters are influenced by parties and not by religion.

To surpass all these, in the 1981 D.D.C. Elections, many Sinhala voters voted for the TULF in the Trincomalee district. This stark truth was proved by Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali through statistics published in newspapers. It is an open secret that to 99% of the Sinhalese—from Corps de elite to riff-riff from the intelligentsia to proletariat, TULF is a chimera that breathes Eelam fire. Yet they acceded to the request of the Trincomalee SLFP bigwigs and voted for the TULF.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,  
**K. Ramanathan.**



(Continued from  
last issue)

Before we proceed to examine the practical consequences and developments that would follow the establishment of Eeylom i.e. the creation of two polities in the Island of Ceylon, namely Sri Lanka and Eeylom, let us visualize the pattern of events that leads to the establishment of Eeylom.

The TULF which obtained a Mandate from the electorate to establish Eeylom has apparently ceased to be interested in creating a sovereign Tamil State. But the Tamil public operating in various groups which are often at loggerheads with each other, is definitely for Eeylom.

Before this gets into print, the results of the Presidential elections would be out; at this election one candidate is contesting the elections seeking only the votes of the Tamil public solely to establish that the Tamils are determined to have Eeylom. Even if all the votes of the Tamil linguistic group are cast in his favour, he has no chance of being anywhere near the winning post. He is of course quite clear about it. He has stated in his Broadcast talk on the 10th October thus: "There is a charge that it is useless to vote for a candidate who cannot win an election.... They must not forget that there are some who put political objectives and aims before positions and posts for themselves." These words reflect excellent sentiment or rather idealism and the candidate's commitment is absolute and unequivocal. He has also offered to set about convening a Constituent Assembly if he gets a specified proportion of the total votes of the Tamil linguistic group.

But the candidate, judging by the voters' response at the previous elections when he came forward without formulating any specific policy or programme, classifies him almost as a stranger to the electorate. The electorate is so to say, today dazed by this candidate's absolute and unambiguous commitment. Further the electorate is torn by diverse directives from different organizations: "dissociate", "boycott", "vote for Eeylom", "vote for high prices for onions and chillies", "vote to defeat the U.N.P. which is becoming a Dictatorship" and the like. Although this candidate's commitment is very specific and the logic of the stand he

# EELAM

Good for the Tamils but  
better for the Sinhalese

(also for Uncle Sam and Auntie  
Maggie — 5)

takes is unassailable, the various circumstances such as-

- a) the fact that he has enunciated his stance only very recently;
- b) the fact that his father and the party from which he hails were virtually under eclipse for a number of years;
- c) the fact that the TULF which commanded an overwhelming support for the Tamil Eeylom mandate in 1977 has

The writer has indicated in an earlier article in the *Saturday Review* that the creation of Eeylom would follow a Referendum to hold which the de facto Government of the Tamil districts of Ceylon would be forced by the strength of moral pressure. Quite a number of friends have wondered how the Government could be forced to hold a Referendum. Although the clarification of this question requires an article by itself certain hints based on first

"uphold and defend the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka".

It is relevant to mention in this connexion that the terms of the Oath which was operative under the United Front Constitution of 1972, which incidentally was enacted by a Constituent Assembly, was much less exacting and less precise than the one under the 1978 Constitution.

What is the significance of the Oath taken by the elected Members of Parlia-

by Somasundaram Vanniasingam

asked the public not to vote at the elections and has specifically asked the Tamils not to vote for this particular candidate;

- d) the fact that this candidate has so far not been able to enter the Parliament, and
- e) the fact that the SLFP candidate has given hopes of higher prices for onions and chillies, as was the case under the earlier S.L.F.P. regime at a time when the farmers are hard hit by the virtually runaway inflation,

all lead one to draw the conclusion that the voting of the Tamil electorates at the Presidential elections to be held on the 20th instant is not likely to allow any firm conclusions to be reached as to what the electorate of the Tamil linguistic group seeks. Undoubtedly the Presidential elections on this occasion is a golden opportunity for the Tamil electorate to give expression to its mind; it is the closest approximation to a Referendum but the rudderless nation's voting is bound to be incoherent.

principles may be briefly noticed.

No nation can continue to rule another nation indefinitely without the consent or connivance of the ruled nation; at least a sizeable section of the subject nation must actively connive with the ruler for the alien rule to continue.

The denial of such support to the Ruler from the ruled nation is the simple strategy that should be followed by any Liberation Movement. But unfortunately the politicians who had the desired mandate and support from the Tamil electorate at large inexcusably failed to pursue that path; and that path is what Gandhiji described as non-violent non-co-operation. The elected representatives of the Tamil electorates who had a clear Mandate for Eeylom ought to have refused to take the Oath under which they swear or affirm to function, "in accordance with the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the law".... and to be

"faithful to the Republic of Sri Lanka" and to the best of one's ability

ment? The Oath is taken by them in their capacity as elected Representatives of the voters concerned. It is an axiomatic position in the Courts that the admission by an Attorney at Law is deemed to be an admission by the litigant concerned. The Oath taken by our elected Representatives binds the Voters.

In this country the significance of the Oath is not adequately grasped. If the memory of the present generation is rather short, the writer would wish to refer to how the Governor of the time dealt with the late Mr. Bandaranaike during the War years. Bandaranaike was then the Minister for Local Government by virtue of his Chairmanship of the relevant Executive Committee under the Donoughmore Constitution. Mr. Bandaranaike circularized all Local Authorities to desist from contributing and not to allow contributions by employees under the Local Authorities to be collected for the War Purposes Fund. Under the then Constitution the Minister does not function on his own but acts only on a Resolution of the Executive Committee.

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

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

(b) the attitudes governing the choice of leaders (S. R. 2-10-1982).

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

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

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

When the directive of the Minister came to the notice of Governor Caldecott, he did not invoke any Emergency Legislation or the like as the highly excitable Governments since Independence are wont to proceed, but merely wrote a letter to the Hon'ble Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike. In fact it was a very polite letter. The Governor merely reminded the Hon'ble Bandaranaike of the Oath of Allegiance he has taken as a Minister of the Crown and enquired very politely whether the Minister dissociated himself from the said Resolution when it was passed by the Executive Committee.

What did the great Hero and doughty Freedom Fighter Bandaranaike do? He immediately summoned a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee and persuaded the Committee to pass another Resolution which repudiated, rescinded and declared null and void the earlier Resolution and duly forwarded the sub-

(Continued next page)



sequent Resolution to His Excellency the Governor.

The Times of Ceylon in an editorial comment observed that the Hon'ble Bandaranaike, when signing the letter to the Governor, did really mean the subscription below which he set his signature, namely "I am, Sir, Your Obedient servant"!

Up to the present there has not been the remotest semblance of non-violent no-co-operation on the part of the Tamils to the rule by an alien power. The elected representatives of the people have been giving cent per cent active co-operation to the alien Government. The disillusioned youth have merely been engaged in purposeless shouting and to wall posters while a few with an abundance of energy could not resist the urge to putting their fingers on the trigger because of the non-action and counteraction of the elected leaders.

representatives of the Tamil Areas refuse to take the Oath and keep out of Parliament demanding self-government. The present Government finds that the most effective instrument countering the Eeylom propaganda abroad is the active co-operation given by the very persons elected by the Tamils on the clear Mandate of setting up Eeylom.

Even the worst tyrant seeks moral justification for his tyrannical acts. Hitler wrote a letter to President Roosevelt sometime before the declaration of War in 1939 which was a masterpiece in seeking moral justification for Germany's offensive. (The full text of the letter was published in the Times of Ceylon then) The Mahabarata says Duryodhanan told Sri Krishnan that he could not agree to admitting Pancha Pandavar to Royal heritage because the institution of kingship

British. Argentine had tremendous advantages in regard to supplies. The Air Force of Argentine was considered by knowledgeable authorities as comparable to the daring Japanese pilots of the Second World War. Then why did Argentine lose the War? They just lost the nerve to fight. They were fighting an Imperial War. All the inhabitants of Falklands were of British stock and they wanted to be under the British Crown. U.S.S.R. which was expected to give support to Argentine did not in the end raise its little finger in support of Argentine.

The European countries the Argentine Government believed, would not give their moral support to Britain. But when the War broke out, all the E.E.C. countries proceeded to lay an embargo on vital supplies to Argentine. The U.S., which was expected to remain favourably dis-

there for thousands of years. The British lived in Argentine only for some one hundred and fifty years. But unfortunately the TULF leadership sabotages the will of the people from being expressed or acted upon.

In 1960, Mr. Dahana-yake as Prime Minister, allowed the political parties contesting the elections to give a few talks to the nation over the radio. The writer, who at that time erroneously believed that salvation for the Tamils could be achieved through the Federal Party, happened to draft some of the radio talks given by the Federal Party, in particular the talk in English delivered personally by Chelvanayakam and meant for the Sinhalese audience.

In fact it was the writer who pursued the idea of a special message to the Sinhalese public to be delivered personally by Chelvanayakam. The writer then drafted the message to the Sinhalese on the doctrine "Live and Let live". On mature reflection, the writer thinks that the sermon "Live and let live" should be addressed not to the Sinhalese but to the Tamils. The Tamils have miserably failed to respect the wishes of the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese people think that the Sinhalese race is only in Sri Lanka, that they have an individual national entity going back to over two thousand five hundred years; they want to preserve it and want to have an exclusive Sinhala polity. Why should not the Tamils respect that wish of the Sinhalese? They want "Sinhala Only". Why should the Tamils stage a Satyagraha to get parity for Tamil ignoring, and seeking to negative, the wishes of the Sinhalese? It was no Satyagraha which the Tamils staged at Galle Face Green in 1956; it was Himsa in an extreme form and they got the bloody nose which they very well deserved.

The Tamils are interfering with the Sinhala polity which the Sinhalese want to preserve as a pure Sinhala State. The Tamils should respect that wish of the Sinhalese exactly as the Tamils want the Sinhalese to respect the wish of the Tamils to have their own polity. The original scheme of the Federal party provided for a number of Cantons on the Swiss pattern at Wellawatta, Hatton Kandapola and so on. In fact the whole strategy of the Tamil nation under the leadership of the Federal party was one of erecting a device the objective of which may be summed up in the words "having the cake and at the same time eating it." The Tamils

should be ashamed of the unmoral approach towards the Sinhalese they adopted in the past.

So late as 1977 the TULF propounded the untenable proposition that the Government of the Tamil Eeylom will protect the Tamils in Sri Lanka (Sinhala Lanka) the polity of the Sinhalese. When Tamil Eeylom is set up, we cannot claim that there are Tamils in Sinhala Lanka. Any Tamil remaining in Sinhala Lanka should be deemed to be a Sinhalese.

In reality what the average Sinhalese thinks on this matter can be seen easily. What do the Sinhalese tell the Tamils when, during the so-called racial riots, they commence the attack. Invariably the bidding is "OADU YAPPANE" — run to Jaffna: do not be here. What is the message? Do not interfere with our Sinhala Only polity. Every one of the major riots could be unequivocally interpreted to convey this message.

In 1956 the rioting occurred because the Tamils interfered with the Sinhala Only policy of the Sinhalese, the Tamils wanted party for Tamil, something utterly irreconcilable with the concept of Sinhala Only which has become the all-absorbing objective of the Sinhalese. The Tamils must respect the wishes of the Sinhalese and quit the Sinhalese territory.

Later the Tamils did some manoueuvering in some secret sessions with Bandaranaike and managed to get him to sign a document called the B-C pact. Now this was something affecting the aspirations and sentiments of the Sinhalese at large but the pact was obtained by secret confabulations with the Sinhalese Prime Minister. It provided for something like Tamil Only in the North and the East and Tamil Also in the Sinhala territory. This naturally infuriated the Sinhalese and the Bhikkus and the Tamils down South were given a bloody nose which they asked for.

In 1966, the Tamils manoueuvered with Dudley Senanayake and got the "Tamil Also" into some Regulations. This was hotly resisted by the Sinhala public but the Tamils managed, through secret negotiations with the Prime Minister who was badly in need of Parliamentary support, to give them these Regulations. Trouble

(Continued overleaf)

# 'The Tamils are interfering with the Sinhala polity'

Some may say that the Government will proceed with the government ignoring the refusal of the elected members of the Tamil areas to take the Oath and the resultant absence from the Parliament. That would create a first class constitutional crisis. Already the Government is terribly worried about the Eelam Propaganda by the Tamil youths abroad. Very recently the Minister for Foreign Affairs, wrote a letter to his opposite number in New Delhi protesting against the comments appearing in the Indian Newspapers. Sometime back the Cabinet was even considering engaging an Advertising Agency from Fifth Avenue (their fee will be very high) to do counter propaganda against the Eelamites.

The Government cannot face the outside world and stretch their begging bowl while the elected Repre-

would be sullied if the five sons of five different fathers all of whom shared one woman in common were made rulers of the State. So long as the wrong-doer seeks moral justification, the wrong-doer can be effectively unnerved by placing him clearly in the wrong morally. This is what is understood by the old saying that the Pen is mightier than the Sword but the Pen is powerless when our own chosen instruments are effectively in the hands of the opponent.

Let us look at a recent example, the Falklands War. Argentine did not lose the War for lack of military muscle. Her military technology was as good as, if not superior to, that of Britain. The Exocet missile they handled gave a shattering blow to British naval reputation. Argentine's army was in the ratio of 3 : 1 as against

posed to Argentine, really acted very favourably to Britain. But let us not forget that the outside powers did not intervene in the War; they only lent their moral support. But moral support to the opponent unnerves the tyrant. Actually the Argentine's armed personnel did refuse to fight the British in the last stages. They lost the nerve because there was no justification for their invasion of Falklands.

Geography, on which Argentine based its claim for Falklands, is no match to the Will of the People on which Britain based its case. Sri Lanka (Sinhala Lanka) also bases its case to rule Eeylom on geography; but the claim for a sovereign Tamil State of Eeylom is based on the Will of the People. There, it is the will of some two thousand persons : in the case of Eeylom, it is the will of some twenty lakhs of people living



(Continued from Page 7)

would have been serious but prompt Police action brought matters under control but a Bhikku was shot dead by a Policeman's gun and Dudley Senanayake paid the penalty of political wilderness at the next elections.

In 1977 the Tamils took part in the power struggle between the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. and naturally S.L.F.P. which did not get the support of the Tamils wreaked vengeance. The excuse that the riots resulted from the Eeylom demand is fictitious; the hill country Tamils were dead opposed to Eeylom but it was the Hill country Tamils who suffered most. The Sinhalese do take a stern view, and that legitimately of Tamils upsetting the balance in their power struggles.

It is something of much significance that the Sinhalese violence against the Tamils have been continuous and of a more aggressive type since 1977 when the Tamils appropriated to themselves the Leadership of the Opposition a position which ought to have been filled by the

## Eelam - good for the ....

S.L.F.P. The conflict is crystal clear: the Sinhalese want a purely Sinhalese polity while the Tamils are interfering in the Sinhala polity and the result is that they get a bloody nose.

There is something in the national character of the Tamils that makes them to be despised by others. It is well known that the word "Demala" in the Sinhalese language carries a contemptuous significance. In point of fact when the average Sinhalese has occasion to refer disparagingly to a Tamil, he uses a well-known adjective which signifies that the person lacks self-respect.

When, in 1972, the Republican Constitution was enacted, the Tamil Members of Parliament wanted to show their dissent and disgust and boycotted the Parliament under the New Constitution. Then sometime later it was announced that the Executive of the so-called T.U.L.F. would meet at a premises near

the District Court, Jaffna to decide on the question whether they are to take the Oath and get back into the Parliament. A vast crowd of youths thronged the neighbourhood; what the youths wanted was obvious. The leaders did not arrive and after a long wait the youths dispersed. Later it transpired that the leaders had met at "Maha Walawuva" in Kopay and decided to get back to Parliament the following day and take the Oath. How were they received in Parliament? The Sinhalese Members taunted these Tamil Members of Parliament with film songs such as "Vankaa Machchan Vankaa" and the like. The general feeling is that the Tamils are excessively attracted by opportunities of making money, that in the process they exploit the indigenous people, that they undercut the local providers of such services and that in short they constitute an evil.

This attitude is not exclusively applicable for the Tamils from the North

and the East; it is equally applicable to the Tamils from Tamil Nadu. Sometime in the late forties or early fifties Acharya Kripalini paid a visit to Ceylon. He was accorded among others, a reception by the Indian business community in Ceylon. An Executive in one of the South Indian business establishments, a friend of the writer and a Graduate in Commerce of the London University, was assigned the task of introducing to Kripalini, the various members of the business community present. After a number of names were mentioned and the introduction proceeded, Acharya Kripalini bent down and commented to the Executive concerned "So, You Madraasis have invaded Ceylon also".

When the question of acceding to the creation of Eeylom becomes a live issue—and that stage will be reached only through a Constitutional crisis where the elected Members of the Parliament refuse to take

the Oath to the Republic of Sri Lanka (Sinhala Lanka) and keep out of Parliament—the bulk of the Sinhalese will relish the prospect of getting rid of the Tamils from their midst. In fact at such a stage almost all the Tamils will quit South Ceylon on their own and the average Sinhalese will feel a sense of relief at getting rid of the Tamils whom they regard as some evil. Only a handful of politicians, who do not know the real mind of the average Sinhalese, as repeatedly proved by their ignominious defeats at the elections which they enter with arrogant and high-sounding optimism, are opposed to the creation of Eeylom. The real obstacle to the realization of Eeylom lies not among the Sinhalese but among the Tamils themselves, particularly among the Tamil politicians who sought for and obtained the Mandate for creating Eeylom. God save the Tamils from their leaders.

## LETTERS

### The soil & the people

274, Navalar Road,  
Jaffna, Oct 18, 1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

Dear Sir,

All Colombo based English newspapers and the politicians of the South allege that the North is hostile to the Sinhalese and that their settlement in the North is grudgingly granted whereas a free run in these matters is conceded in the South to the Northerner. The Schools and Educational facilities provided here are reckoned as a bounty of the southerners whereas the philanthropists of the North and the missionaries of the West contributed to such developments.

Jaffna soil is hostile even to its own sons and so they had to seek pastures outside. Missionaries found this a golden chance to offer education and job opportunities added as a

sweeteven in sowing their religious seeds. The Sinhalese were in the fertile areas where anything just thrown on the ground will sprout and yield fruit; hence they chose to remain as farmers.

This tendency is seen in the Australians too, who prefer to ride their horses around their sprawling acres rather than slog under Government. It was only the poor class of Sinhalese mostly bakers and petty traders with their two tiered wicker baskets with conical lids covered in waterproof canvas ventured to the north win the early days. The Tamils were entertained like poor relations in the South. The Southerner never "condescended" to reciprocate. It was only a few enlightened parents who sent their children to the boarding schools in the North, more for breaking these wild colts.

In these matter even the Easterners had their fertile paddy fields and the Mannar and Mullaitivu folk fish laden seas around and spurned Government Service. The Northerner does not claim the prosperity of Tea, Rubber, Cocoa etc as gifted by him. This was a gift by the Europeans. If the Lion's share of Education was to the North, the lions share of Economy went to the South. This is never spotlighted.

#### Learning nothing from history

All that we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history. Else history cannot repeat itself. Why then try to unearth this hoary past which would only be layers of alternate rise and fall? Why not look into the difficulties that exist rather than add in all this past? If the present status quo is maintained will it not maintain harmony.

I feel that the pity is we do not have enough soldiers in the country who have faced fire and sun the suffering of humanity to promote peace in earnest.

Yours sincerely,  
E. Tharmalingam  
Retired Irrigation  
Engineer,

### Parting of the ways? What a question to pose in 1982?

15/2 1st Lane Brown Rd.,  
Jaffna, 18.10.82

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

One awaited Mr. T. Poopalan's contribution with great expectations only to find that what he has dished out in the *Saturday Review* of October 16th is neither fish nor fowl. He asks whether the parting of the ways has come. What a question to pose in the year of our Lord 1982 when people like Sir Pon Ramanathan had thought of it during their lifetime.

Prior to 1977 one remembers Mr. Poopalan presiding at a meeting in Veerasingham Hall where Mr. Bala Tampoe and Mr. Prins Gunasekera were the speakers.

Later he played a leading role in a Felix oriented Law Society Association.

At this juncture he says that it is not his intention

to scratch healing wounds. Who is scratching wounds in the Jaffna bound trains and Colombo to Jaffna Express buses?

Every "Sinhala only" letter is a stab in the wound. Every act of discrimination, insult and torture against a Tamil is a stab in the wound. What makes Mr. Poopalan think that wounds are healing? The new pastures Presidential elections promise?

Boycott is no answer, he says. He is also hurt over the "war and peace" talk. Then it boils down to Hector, Colvin, Vasu and Rohana.

In case Hector rides to victory, what is up? This is my multibillion question!

Even farmers who are not aware of the existence of a paper like the *Saturday Review* repeat that age old saying about the Rama and Ravana rule. Mr. Poopalan should go about and look around before pontificating.

Yours truly,  
S. Kirupairaj.



I refer to Sivasegaram's letter on 'JVP and Old Left' which was published in the 'Letters' column of the September 18 issue of the Saturday Review. As the factors raised therein are not of a constructive nature, but amount to a deliberate slander against the party and its leadership I give here below the gist of its contents and will endeavour to clarify the facts—which have been desperately twisted and misrepresented by Sivasegaram.

According to Sivasegaram:

1. The JVP sacrificed thousands of youth in the adventures of 1971.

2. The JVP today owes its political existence to the UNP, and its leaders have demonstrated their loyalty to the UNP through their consistent attack on the SLFP.

3. The JVP took a clearly hostile stand towards the plantation workers in 1971. It was also hostile to the urban working class during that period.

4. Of the top JVP leadership of 1971, all but Rohana Wijeweera and Lionel Bopage have left the party.

5. The JVP has not explained nor justified its past and its present line.

6. The JVP is not only notorious for its political alliance with the anti-working class forces, but also for its blatant thuggery characteristic of the right-wing bourgeois political party it is indirectly serving.

7. The JVP leadership is not made of material half as good quality as the leaders of the Old Left.

8. What is Wijeweera but a cheap counter-revolutionary?

#### Who massacred the youths?

1. In the very first instance, was it the JVP that massacred thousands of youth in April 1971 as Sivasegaram depicts in his letter? As far as I can recollect, the SLFP, having occupied the governmental office in 1970, unleashed in the latter part of the year massive repressive attacks against the JVP, with the unrestrained support and benediction of their allies of the so-called left, viz. the LSSP and CP and the then opposition UNP, with the intention of annihilating the JVP. To this end, Emergency Regulation Part III was enacted in March 1971 for the first

# Meeting the 8-pt. criticism of the JVP

time since colonial rule. The regulation states that the armed forces can dispense of dead bodies without a post mortem. It should, however, be remembered that in March 1971 there still were no dead bodies. The ruling SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition of that time admits that it was only on April 5 of that year that ninety-three police stations were attacked by the JVP activists. But prior to that date approximately 5,000 people were arrested and accused of having connections with the JVP. These and other repressive measures prove

there was an important political motive behind this move. On the one hand, the UNP had to show a facade of political stability to attract foreign investment into the country, and having political prisoners would have marred this facade of democracy. On the other hand, in the 1977 election campaign the UNP pledged to release the JVP prisoners if elected since it was hoping to capitalise on the added votes it would receive from the people of this country. The agitations at Peradeniya University, Thulhiriya Textile Factory and the Salawa Plywood

such as Sri Lanka. This in no way referred to the plantation workers of Indian origin.

In fact, the JVP explored the possibility of mobilising these sections of the people, as both the urban and estate working class has, and always will be a significant force in the struggle against the capitalist class. As for the plantation workers, the JVP has made special reference to them in its Policy Declaration:

1. "Plantation workers of Indian origin shall have the right to choose between

also have numerous mass meetings and rallies throughout the country. Our Policy Declaration is also freely available, and the party has also published books and pamphlets on the national question and the 1971 insurrection. All this literature can be obtained not only within Sri Lanka, but also through our representatives abroad. So one cannot but help wonder where Sivasegaram has been all this time?

6. As regards Sivasegaram's comment to the effect that the JVP is notorious for its political alliances with anti-working class forces, it must be pointed out that unlike the opportunist and revisionist parties of the old left, the JVP has never entered into any alliance with anti-proletarian elements. Nor has it embraced any form of thuggery as claimed by Sivasegaram. Nor does the JVP indirectly serve the interests of the "right-wing bourgeois political party" he refers to by exposing the opportunism of the old left. According to his line of reasoning, it appears that the JVP must be in an extraordinary situation where it has become right-wing because it exposes the opportunistic and reactionary tendencies of the time!

7. Thus of all "discoveries" by Sivasegaram, the "greatest" and most "significant" one is that the JVP leadership is not made of material of half as good quality as the leaders of the old left. It is not immediately clear on what basis he has determined his qualitative richness. But judging from the contents of his letter, I have every reason to presume that his criterion has been naked opportunism.

8. Before I wind up, I would like to throw in a suggestion: Instead of slandering the JVP, Sivasegaram should take a closer look at himself—particularly the instance when he brushed shoulders with the pro-bourgeois campus authorities in the face of all student agitations revolving around issues that gravely affected the lives of the Sri Lankan masses. I doubt that he would then label comrade Wijeweera a counter-revolutionary.

by

R Singamappanar

beyond doubt that it was the SLFP and the UF government that initiated terror against the JVP and that the latter had no alternative but to fight back in defence of the party. At this decisive juncture, the JVPers did not idly sit by until the repressive apparatus of the state stacked them all into one big grave. Knowing full well the repercussions of the absence of counter-attack which the Indonesian Communist Party exemplified via its own self-destruction, the JVP cadres with inexhaustible courage and untiring determination, resorted to defensive action. At this stage of events, the bourgeois SLFP and its petit-bourgeois stooges murdered thousands of JVP freedom fighters in cold blood, and passed lengthy jail sentences on the others. Hence, I fail to trace and sense in Sivasegaram's comment to the effect that the JVP sacrificed thousands of youth in 1971, any more than one could trace any sense in accusing comrade Lenin and his party for "murdering" thousands of Bolsheviks in 1905.

2. It is now common knowledge that the present UNP regime repealed the Criminal Justice Commission Act with a view of freeing a gang of its political aides who had been convicted for foreign exchange frauds. Along with them the UNP had to release the JVPers for we too had been penalised under the same Act. In addition,

Complex are just a few examples. In addition to these acts of agitation by the people, it is noteworthy that hundreds of thousands signed petitions in support of their demand to have the imprisoned JVPers freed. The UNP was also hoping to get the electoral support of the families of the 45,000 JVP activists (10,000 who were killed and 35,000 who were imprisoned) as they were still suffering from the brutality that was unleashed against them by the Sirima regime. In this context, Sivasegaram's inference that the JVP is conveying its "gratitude" to the UNP by repeatedly attacking the SLFP clearly exposes his political sympathies, as the JVP's contempt for the SLFP is quite understandable. The JVP has rightly rated the SLFP as being equally capitalist as the UNP, and has made a determined effort to prevent the SLFP from duping the masses with its "socialist" cloak.

3. Sivasegaram is again misrepresenting the facts when he states in his letter that the JVP took a hostile stand towards the plantation workers and the urban working class in 1971. The concept of "Indian expansionism" was used by the JVP solely to explain the activities of those Indian capitalists such as the Birlas, Tatas, etc. who having found it difficult to compete in the world market for their produce, expanded their ties with neighbouring countries

emigration to India or the obtaining of citizenship in Sri Lanka, according to their wishes."

2. "Plantation workers of Indian origin who have obtained citizenship of Sri Lanka shall enjoy all rights enjoyed by other citizens."

3. "All plantation workers will be provided with decent housing with sanitation facilities instead of the present line rooms."

4. Meanwhile, Sivasegaram claims that of the top JVP leadership of 1971, only Rohana Wijeweera and Lionel Bopage have remained in the party. While it is true that the reactionary and opportunistic elements such as Podi Athula and Loku Athula are no longer in the party the following basic point has been either ignored or concealed: namely, that as a mass people's party with democratic organisation and a definite political line the JVP is not dominated by a handful of individuals or personalities. Hence, even if Rohana Wijeweera or Lionel Bopage were to leave the party, the JVP will continue to build support among the people with as much vigour and dedication as in the past.

5. With respect to Sivasegaram's claim that the JVP has not explained nor justified its past or present line. I can only point out that the JVP publishes weekly and monthly newspapers in Tamil, Sinhala and English. We



The world's highest death rate from pesticide poisoning has been in Ceylon according to a recent F.A.C survey, most of which has been through occupational exposure of farmers. This is a pointer to the careless and indiscriminate use of pesticides in this country. The Jaffna Peninsula is one of the worst offenders. The pesticides used by man to grow food finally end up in the man in the food he eats.

Pesticides include insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, nematocides and other similar biocides. Insecticides are formulations of chlorinated hydrocarbons, organo-phosphorus, plant derivatives, etc., and are in the form of dusts, suspensions, wettable powders and emulsifiable concentrates.

These act as fumigants, contact poisons, stomach poisons, attractants-repellants, systemic poisons and chemical stimulants. Fungicides are based on sulphur, copper, mercury and organic compounds. The herbicides are derivatives from arsenic, pentachlorophenol, propanil and other such chemicals.

#### POLLUTION OF UNDERWATER

All these which are classed as pesticides came into wide use with the 2nd World War. They are formulated from over 150 basic chemicals and are sold under hundreds of trade names. The first to be synthesized was D.D.T. A large number of these agro-chemicals are freely imported into this country. These include many which are dangerous to human health and as such are banned or severely restricted in many Western countries. There is however, a Control of Pesticides Bill in this country which is not effectively implemented.

Another source of hazard to the health of people in the Jaffna Peninsula is the indiscriminate and excessive use of artificial fertilizers, which has created a problem of nitrogen pollution of groundwater. Compost manure can advantageously be used if the method of preparation is demonstrated in villages.

#### HAZARDS TO MEN

The pesticides get into the human system through the skin, the mouth and by inhalation. Every meal carries it and every person has traces of it. Pesticide chemicals, particularly the systemic ones persist in plant tissues and as such

# How much of Jaffna's 'fresh' vegetables are poisoned

the "fresh vegetables" sold in the market are really not fresh but poisoned.

Some vegetables are treated heavily with pesticides whereas some such as pumpkins receive very little and others such as drumsticks get no pesticide treatment at all.

In chilli cultivation for instance, the seed and seedbed are treated with organo-mercurials against disease, chlorinated - hydrocarbons

substances. A study group in U.S. has said that 25 percent of all pesticides in the market have cancer causing potential.

#### PEST MANAGEMENT

A method of pest management or integrated control was advocated about 25 years ago to surmount the hazards of pesticides to man. It was however, only a few years back that this method received special

toxicity sets in and impairs plant growth and reduces crop yields. In some farming centres boys and men are readily available on the road with sprayers and "cocktail" mixtures, who drench-spray the crop; payment being based on the number of gallons they pump out. The greatest danger is in harvesting treated crops long before the safe residual period expires. The ultimate vic-

tuber-moth which lead to potato rot in storage. Planting in the direction of sunlight prevents the harbouring of pests. Quick and vigorous growth by irrigation and fertilizers application enables crops to withstand pests. The use of light-traps is a very effective and cheap method of insect control which can be easily adopted in Jaffna. Even burning a small fire at the corner of the field is an effective light trap. So are coloured, gummed or poisoned strips, or repellent coloured bulbs. Similarly other attractants and repellants are helpful.

Sunflower and dhal if planted around chilli plots attract with their yellow flowers, the pod-borers and aphids, lessening the attack on chillies. Or for instance, if ground-nut is planted around maize or sorghum the stem-borer attack is reduced. The entry of mealy-bug carrying ants into a pineapple plantation, can be checked by growing about 5 chemically treated rows at right angles to the main cropped rows.

Hand-picking leaves with egg-masses or rubbing them off as in the case of the onion green caterpillar or other insects is simple and effective. The breaking off of fly affected parts in bandakka plants is an effective control. Margosa incorporated into the soil as done for chillies or used as a fumigant is a good insecticide. Plant derivatives and the age-old kerosene emulsion and soap solution are used effectively against insects even today. The world famous bordeaux mixture has come down in history as an effective fungicide. There are numerous other such ways of checking pests.

In the integrated method of pest management, the use of biological natural enemies is a very effective method of pest control. Similarly, birds if attracted into an infested field will pick up worms and insects and reduce the pest population. The use of microbial insecticides is another safe method of control.

Chemical spraying should be adopted only when it is justified. If pest infestation is expected to build up over a safe limit and the use of

(Continued next page)

by

J. J. Niles

District Agricultural Officer (Retired)

against soil insects and twelve organo-phosphorous spray treatments. Apart from these a further twelve nitrate fertilizer doses are applied.

Some farmers dump fertilizers even to the extent of causing phytotoxicity and surer exosmetic symptoms. Washing and cooking does not fully remove the residues of the pesticides. A surer remedy is to discard the outer leaves and outer peels whenever possible. Most of the local fruits such as mangoes, jak, papaw, plantains etc., however are not commonly treated with chemicals. Pesticides also persist in the soil and pollute the surface and groundwater, poisoning the fish etc.

An average person so exposed may have about 6 p.m. of chemicals in the system, whereas an occupationally exposed farmer may have thrice that quantity and a daily direct contact as much as hundred times that amount. These are cumulative over long periods of time and are reported to be found in the human milk and passed on to off-spring even while in the womb.

It is reported that these pesticides cause cancer, necrosis of the liver, kidney diseases, hepatitis, tumours, damage to the nervous system, insomnia, paralysis, birth defects, sterility and many other diseases. Arsenic is one of the first recognized cancer causing

emphasis in this country. The importance of this method was stressed by an F.A.O. Consultant Entomologist at a Seminar in Jaffna early this year. This method of integrated or rational system of pest management is basically the integrated adoption of cultural, mechanical, biological and other practices with the minimum use of agrochemicals. In this method, chemical usage is advised only when the pest attack exceeds a threshold value or safe limit.

The modern insecticides are biocides, killing both the good and the bad. Non-target organisms which are beneficial are also killed by the indiscriminate use of agro-chemicals. The balance of nature is thus upset. Predatory, parasitic and beneficial organisms and even birds which feed on pests are also killed by indiscriminate use of pesticides and so when the natural enemies are reduced the next pest out-break becomes more severe and assumes epidemic proportions. The pests themselves build up resistance to the agrochemicals.

Today there are a large number of such resistant strains. When they show resistance, the farmers in turn resort to the usage of higher dosages and to more frequent applications than recommended. By such over-spraying, apart from encouraging the organisms to build up further resistance, phyto-

tim is man who consumes the poisoned produce. The mere fact that the farmers do not use such produce for their own home consumption shows that they are well aware of the dangers.

In the method of Pest Management or Integrated Control, the adoption of good cultural and agronomic practices should be stressed. Clean cultivation should be followed. The stubble and crop residues should be burnt when advantageous. Alternate host plants should be destroyed. The soil should be brought up to the proper PH requirement of the crop to avoid diseases. A correct crop rotation system should be followed.

The decline of chilli cultivation in the mainland of the Jaffna District is a good example of the folly of mono-cropping without any rotation. Following the land is very helpful. The cultivation of pest resistant strains is one of the most effective methods of preventing pest attack. Planting at correct times and at recommended depths helps to avoid pests.

Onions, for instance, should not be cultivated during the dewy season. Planting times in a tract should be uniform. The tillering is adversely affected in a rice crop which is deeply transplanted beyond the tillering-zone. Potato tubers exposed above the soil attracts



## 'BOYCOTT CALL ANSWERED' - T. E. L. F

Mr. M. K. Eelaventhana, Organising Secretary of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF) has sent us the following press release in connection with the recent Presidential election:

"In the recent Sri Lanka Presidential election the people of Sri Lanka have given their verdict and have elected their own President. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Front respects their verdict and it is not our intention to comment for or against their decision. Likewise the Tamil Eelam people in keeping with the mandate they gave us in the 1977 election responded to our call for a boycott of the election and have reasserted their position as regards their determination on the Tamil Eelam issue. In spite of the TULF leadership's lack of clear directive to the people on the boycott issue the Tamils of Eelam

readily and magnificently responded to the call of boycott of the TELF.

"It is true that a section of our people fearing impersonation if their votes were not cast, ventilated their grievances and openly expressed their sentiments and aspirations on the Tamil Eelam issue by voting for Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam. It is true that Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam's decision to support the Tamil Eelam concept as the only solution to the Tamil problem was somewhat belated but the fact that he has realized it and has openly campaigned for it in the recent election must be accepted without any mental reservation. We sincerely hope Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam will show more seriousness of purpose and sustained interest in our struggle for the Liberation of Tamil Eelam.

"It is not denied that a small section of our people did believe in changing the leadership of the Sinhalese with a desire to find some temporary relief. But we on our part are very clear in our mind that a change of pillow will not cure the political headache we are suffering from. We have gone into the root cause of the disease and have come to the inevitable conclusion that change of leadership or parties among the Sinhalese will not take us anywhere. So long the Sinhalese are our rulers and we continue to be ruled by them there is no future for us to survive as an ethnic group in this Island. The TELF has faith in its people and people in turn have faith in the TELF. Let us march forward on our path to victory."

## The 'Indian Express' pre-election report

The **Indian Express** in a pre-election dispatch by K. Sriram with the Colombo date line carried the following report in its issue of October 18th:

"As campaigning comes to a close today for the Oct. 20 presidential poll, party campaigners, especially those of the ruling United National Party and the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party are left wondering whom the all-important minority Tamil vote would favour.

"While their spokesmen confidently proclaim from election platforms that most of the Tamils comprising an electorate of about 1.2 million out of a

total of eight million would be voting for their candidates—the TULF boycott notwithstanding—all available indications here are that the picture is yet to become clear.

"The Indian Tamil voters, most of them tea plantation workers in central parts of the island numbering about two lakhs, are a divided lot. The expectation, however, is that the Minister for Rural Industries, S. Thondaman, a Tamilian who is in the present government as a representative of the Ceylon Workers Congress, may pull a lot of their votes for President J. R. Jayewardene.

## Jaffna's Vegetables

(Continued from page 10)

chemicals is unavoidable, only the safest selected pesticide should be used and that too, at the recommended dosage and spray intervals. Thus the pesticides should not be the only method of pest control but it should be a component in an integrated pest management strategy.

that such a system of integrated control is widely used in China which feeds 900 million people, where only about 100 insecticides are produced and only about 7 safe ones are generally used. Jaffna Peninsula with a comparatively small population uses many hundreds of pesticides.

It would suffice to say Is our pest problem so vast than in China?

## Jaffna Soccer news

### Victor Kiruparaj reports :-

The Patrician First Eleven Soccer Outfit maintained their unbeaten record when it scored a facile 4-0 win over Jaffna Central's combine in a friendly played on Central grounds before a mammoth crowd on Monday afternoon. It was Jaffna Central which held the whip hand during the first minute period, skipper Paul Prahalathan missing a sitter in the tenth minute.

Central's strategy of falling back in defence in the second period proved their undoing, when the Patrician maulers, capitalising on such a move, virtually tore gaps in Central's deep defence to score four goals in quick succession in the final twenty minute period. They pounded the enemy territory with hell's fury to crush them by four goals to nil. O.S. Antonipillai converted three of the four goals in grand style, while the other was booted in

by burly Rock Hudson.

Mr. Mahendran controlled the game.

In the matches played during the past fortnight the Patrician First Eleven had drubbed St. Xavier's Mannar by 7 goals to 0 and beaten Mahajana College Tellippalai by 2 goals to 0.

St Patrick's takes on St. John's in their annual friendly on Saturday 23rd on the Patrician grounds.

## Announcement.

### S-Lon Plumbers Training Course.

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



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# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

### How the Army men 'HANDLED' the village barber!

Were some rank and file Army personnel on patrol duty in Jaffna during the recent Presidential election, going about showing their open sympathy for the SLFP candidate? According to various reports received, SATURDAY REVIEW has reason to think so.

One of the reports comes from a village about eight miles from Jaffna city. The village barber, known by the nickname "Yal Devi" for his habit of walking fast all the time, suddenly halted on his tracks when an Army truck with armed personnel which went past him on a deserted road, stopped and the army men beckoned him. The barber lost his nerve. He stood paralysed, unable to move. This could be the end of the road for him. His first thought was whether he was going to come out of this alive.

But something in the manner of the Army men

gave him some hope. They did not point their guns at him, and beckoned him to come along fast. With wooden feet he managed to get near. One man with a gun asked him in colloquial Tamil "For whom are you voting?" Now this was another danger signal. On his answer might depend his chance of getting back alive. He hesitated, demurred, and wrung his hands. "Come on", they said. With some difficulty he raised his hands a little, more as a protective gesture. "You are voting for the Hand?", asked one man. The barber saw hope. He assented very vigorously, and held up one open palm and said Yes. "Very good", said one of the men, and leaned down from the truck to pat him on the shoulder. "We have also voted for the Hand". The truck drove off. The barber, very proud of his "brush" with the Army has been boasting about it to everyone in the village!

### Police keep the alert in the North

Though the Presidential Elections are over, the Northern Region Police is still continuing patrols to prevent any incidents of violence.

A conference was conducted for the Police Officers in Jaffna by Mr. R. P. Rajaguru (D.I.G. Northern Range) in order to review the situation in the North. The D.I.G. and Mr. A. E. Anandarajah (Superintendent of Police, Jaffna) expressed satisfaction at the calm prevailing in Jaffna, both before and after the Elections.

At the same time, Mr. R. Sundaralingam (Senior

D.I.G.) ordered that the officers in charge of each Police Station should constantly report regarding the situation to the Police Headquarters through the regional Superintendents of Police.

### Arrested for printing leaflet

Yogan Kannamuththu of Batticaloa has been arrested by the Police and charged with attempting to print leaflets which called on the public to boycott the President's visit to Batticaloa. He is the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front's District Organizer for Batticaloa.

# How about the racism in Sri Lanka, asks Felix Dias

"There is racial discrimination in Sri Lanka. When the racial problems here have not been solved it is meaningless for us to show grave concern over the racial problem in South Africa. It is also foolish of us to take action on our cricketers who have gone there."

So said Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike speaking in the seminar conducted at Marga last Saturday (23rd) on the title, "The Politics of Trade and Sports between Sri Lanka and South Africa".

The seminar which was chaired by Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam had as its other speakers Mr. Karen Breckenridge (Director, UN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Mr. Mervyn De Silva (Editor, Lanka Guardian).

Mr. Bandaranaike further stated "When equal rights and equal status have not been granted for all citizens there is no need to be bothered about the problems in South Africa. The fact that the recent communal disturbances were

inflamed by some members of the Government has been accepted by those in the Government in public platforms. But was at least one produced before the Court regarding this? No! When the situation in the country is this, what is the point in chattering about the Apartheid in South Africa which is miles beyond our country?"

A former Army Commander (who wanted to remain anonymous) thundered: "Racial discrimination in Sri Lanka has reached grave proportions.

Politicians are mustering popularity for themselves using communalist slogans. It is racialism that is the politics of Sri Lanka. Neither politicians nor priests have done anything substantial to solve the racial problem here. In this context it sounds strange to me that Sri Lanka should use the Apartheid policy of South Africa as a reason to punish our cricketers. When none has been punished here for the racial disturbances of 1957, 1977 and 1981, why be bothered about South Africa?"

### Jaffna Passport Office under-staffed

The Assistant Controller of the Department of Immigration and Emigration Mr. M. C. Arunthavachelvam, who is in charge of the Jaffna Sub-Passport Office, has bemoaned the fact that they are handicapped in the issue of passports within the specified period because of under staffing. But despite this, his sub-office which was installed in the premises of the Jaffna Secretariat on

September 15th has so far issued 1,425 passports. But they are forced to function with four clerks and one peon. The four clerks were compelled to work even on Saturdays and Sundays.

"At times we receive 200 applications a day. We would be able to issue passports within the specified two weeks, if we are given two more clerks and one additional peon." Mr. Arunthavachelvam said.

### Youth escapes from Army custody

12 hours before the attack on the Chavakacheri Police Station occurred a Tamil youth who was under interrogation at the Gurunager Army Camp, in Jaffna escaped from custody. This happened during the late hrs. of Tuesday afternoon. Two other youth who also attempted a get away were recaptured one with gun shot wounds and the other with a deep cut are now ward at the Jaffna General Hospital under armed custody. A soldier was also admitted to the hospital with injuries.

### Kuttimani issue at the International Book Fair

The German Human Rights Organisations went on a signature campaign to stop the death sentence of Kuttimani and Jegan at the International Book Fair that took place in Frankfurt. There was a special stand organised by the German and Austrian section of the Survival International-Gesellschaft fur Bedrohte Volker. Leaflets were issued by the Survival International and the German Tamil

Several hundred German and foreign visitors signed the petition to the President of Sri Lanka to stop the death sentence of Kuttimani and Jegan. This is the world famous exhibition in which Sri Lanka participated last year without a single Tamil book. Sri Lanka did not participate this year. Thousands of visitors came to the fair from all parts of the world.