

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No. 7 March 13, 1982

Rs. 2

# U.N.P. not to contest

## in the North: A national govt. in the air

### Editorial

### The problems of leadership

What are the qualities that go to make a leader of men? Exceptional self-confidence may be one. Boundless courage may be another. Sound judgement may be a third. There are other qualities besides: Ability to inspire his followers; a knack for compelling fear in certain circumstances; a personal charisma; a deep-seated sense of mission; single-mindedness of purpose; steadfastness of objective.....and more than others, a historical sense.

The next few months are going to present one of the biggest challenges to the leaders in this country, since independence. On their performance would depend what the future course and shape of this country is going to be. The real challenge is not one that concerns the centre—or the south. The performance there is predictable. It is the North that holds the key to the country's future, and on Appapillai Amirthalingam cast in the role of the Tamil leader, the spotlight is now turned. Why do we say that?

As far as the Sinhalese are concerned, power passed to their hands in 1948. Political power, ethnic power, State power. It is idle to expect anyone who has wrested power to abandon it. Or even share it willingly. As to who among them should hold power is a matter that concerns them only. A UNP battling it out with an SLFP, or an SLFP feuding among themselves is hardly of any consequence as far as the Tamils are concerned. What the Tamils could expect under the post-independence scheme of things, is a concession here, a favour there, an individual position to someone, fairplay from some leader, insult from another, an Ambassador's post to A, an I.G.P's post to B, and a chance to make money to C,D and E, so that their families could prosper. There could be—the possibility is always there—some Sinhalese leader who would transcend the racial boundaries and act and behave as if he was the leader of the whole country, but as to whether all the Sinhalese people would put up with him for long is a moot question.

That is why Mr. Amirthalingam's performance in the next few months is going to be watched with interest. He is leading a people who are fast coming to the cross-roads. As to which way they should turn depends on the sagacity of their leadership. The leader must carry the people along with him whichever path he chooses to tread; if he fails to do so, he would cease to be leader, and President Jayewardene's government would have won a mere Pyrrhic victory.

Mr. Amirthalingam cannot also depend on extraneous circumstances to maintain his position of leadership. The fortunes and strategies of the T.U.L.F. have far too often been tied up with accidents. His becoming Leader of the Opposition in Sri Lanka's Parliament was a freakish happening which neither he nor his party nor the Sinhalese people ever admitted into the political calculations. It was the stupidity of some politicians and the dastardly behaviour of some Policemen in May-June 1981 in Jaffna that gave the TULF an overwhelming victory at the District Council elections.

The qualities of leadership, as we said at the beginning, are many. Leaders after all, are creatures of historical forces, forces which operate independently of the leaders. The hour produces the man, they say, but then, the watches have to be constantly synchronised.

The ruling United National Party will not be contesting any of the seats in the North at the coming General Elections, according to informed political sources close to the Government. This is interpreted as a Government move to leave the electoral field clear for the Tamil United Liberation Front in the North.

While some observers think that this is an out-come of the amity talks between the Government and the T.U.L.F., others are of the opinion that after the U.N.P.'s debacle in the North at the District Development Council Elections in June last year, political prudence has also been a contributing factor towards this "strategic withdrawal".

It is pointed out that a gradual withdrawal of U.N.P. presence in the North was brought out sharply in the recent appointments of Special Service Officers under the Gramodaya Scheme; T.U.L.F. was given a virtual "carte blanche" to instal their own nominees. This has already disappointed U.N.P. branch organisers in the North who feel they had been let down despite their consistent allegiance to the U.N.P. through thick and thin. While some of them, particularly in the Vavuniya electorate are reported to be contemplating resigning from

the U.N.P., others in the Peninsula are believed to be seeking an alliance with the All Ceylon Tamil Congress to fight the T.U.L.F. in the coming elections.

All these have led to speculations that there could be a post-election tie-up between the U.N.P. and the T.U.L.F. leading towards the formation of a National Government. But while the U.N.P. has signed off the North to the T.U.L.F., the

position in the East has yet to be hammered out, according to the same sources. While the U.N.P. will definitely contest the East, with Home Minister K. W. Devanayagam heading the U.N.P. slate of candidates, the question of arriving at a common understanding between the two parties has yet to be negotiated. The first casualty in this process of rapprochement is expected to be Hindu Affairs Minister Chelliah Rajadurai, whose Parliamentary future now hangs in the balance. Independent sources believe that he might even seek his political fortunes in the hill country.



### TIGER STORY

"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was weeping bitterly by a grave. The Master pressed forward and drove quickly to her; then he sent Tze-lu to question her. "Your wailing", said he, "is that of one who has suffered sorrow on sorrow". She replied, "that is so. Once my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed, and now my son has died in the same way." The Master said, "why do you not leave the place?" The answer was, "there is no oppressive government here." The Master then said, "Remember this, my children: oppressive government is more terrible than tigers."

(Quoted by Bertrand Russell in his book titled "Power")

### T.U.L.F. M.P. meets Mrs. Gandhi

The Member of Parliament for Jaffna, Vettivelu Yogeswaran—who left for India towards the end of January this year—had a two hour long discussion with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Premier on 9 February.

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# Saturday Review

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## Picketing - for the Paranthan strikers

A picketing campaign is to be organized shortly in Colombo in support of the workers on strike at the Paranthan Chemicals Corporation. If the demand to reinstate the 371 workers dismissed following the strike four months ago,

along with the other demands, are not granted, a one day general strike will be held latter this month.

This was revealed by a joint delegation of the three Trade Unions, C. M. U., C. E. S. U., and C. P. S. U., which held a press conference in Jaffna on Sunday, 7th March.

Mr. Bala Tampoe, Secretary of the C. M. U. said that workers in the South, irrespective of race or religion, are opposed to the setting up of another factory at Embilipitiya, because they realise that it will jeopardise the future of the Paranthan factory and the workers employed there.

### THE FIRST TAMIL I. G. P.

Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, Senior Deputy Inspector General of Police, will assume duties as Inspector General of Police on 15 March.

Mr. Rajasingham, who will be the first Tamil I.G.P., has acted as I.G.P. several times.

He succeeds Mr. Ana Seneviratne who is tipped to be appointed as Ambassador to Malaysia.

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# Political Causerie

Something which I think most Sri Lankans have not fully grasped yet is that President Jayewardene is obligated to assure foreign, mainly Western, aid-givers and investors, who are backed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, that his rightwing United National Party could hold on to power until the end of the decade.

For it would be of little advantage to them, politically and materially, to go on pumping money into the Government's development programme, in which the private sector has been assigned the lead role and foreign multinationals are heavily involved, if it were to be changed and chopped by an incoming so-

cialist-oriented regime which could be the situation if the UNP were defeated at the next general election.

It is from this overall perspective that certain past and current as well as future developments in Sri Lanka have to be viewed.

**MAKE NO MISTAKE, THE UNP WILL EXPLOIT EVERY TRICK IN THE POLITICAL GAME TO REMAIN IN POWER FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. ALSO, MAKE NO MISTAKE, I WILL BE BACKED TO THE HILT BY ALL THOSE FORCES, IN SRI LANKA AND ABROAD, WHO WISH TO SEE THIS COUNTRY REMAIN A "DEMOCRACY" OF THE**

**SINGAPORE, N. SOUTH KOREAN, TAIWAN AND PAKISTAN MODEL!**

That will be the real objective of the proposal to hold fresh parliamentary elections before the normally due date (the end of 1983).

The matter has been fully discussed by the UNP high command and the most favoured date is reportedly August (as exclusively reported in the 'Saturday Review' last week.)

There are several imperatives for going to the polls early. The two most pressing are the possibility that, with time, the economic situation could deteriorate further and opposition unity might become a reality.

Another major consideration that must be worrying President Jayewardene is the growing dissension within the UNP which could result in an open rupture, with disastrous consequences for the party at the elections.

Suppose elections are held early and suppose, despite all the manoeuvres of the ruling government a party or coalition of parties hostile to this UNP captures power? What next?

**THE PEOPLE MIGHT HAVE OUSTED THE UNP FROM POWER, BUT ITS LEADER, MR JAYEWARDENE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PRESIDENT UNTIL EARLY 1984, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE CONSTITUTION.**

**R. JAYEWARDENE HIMSELF HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DRAWN POINTED ATTENTION TO THIS SITUATION. "WHATEVER PARTY CAPTURES POWER AT THE NEXT ELECTIONS, I SHALL**

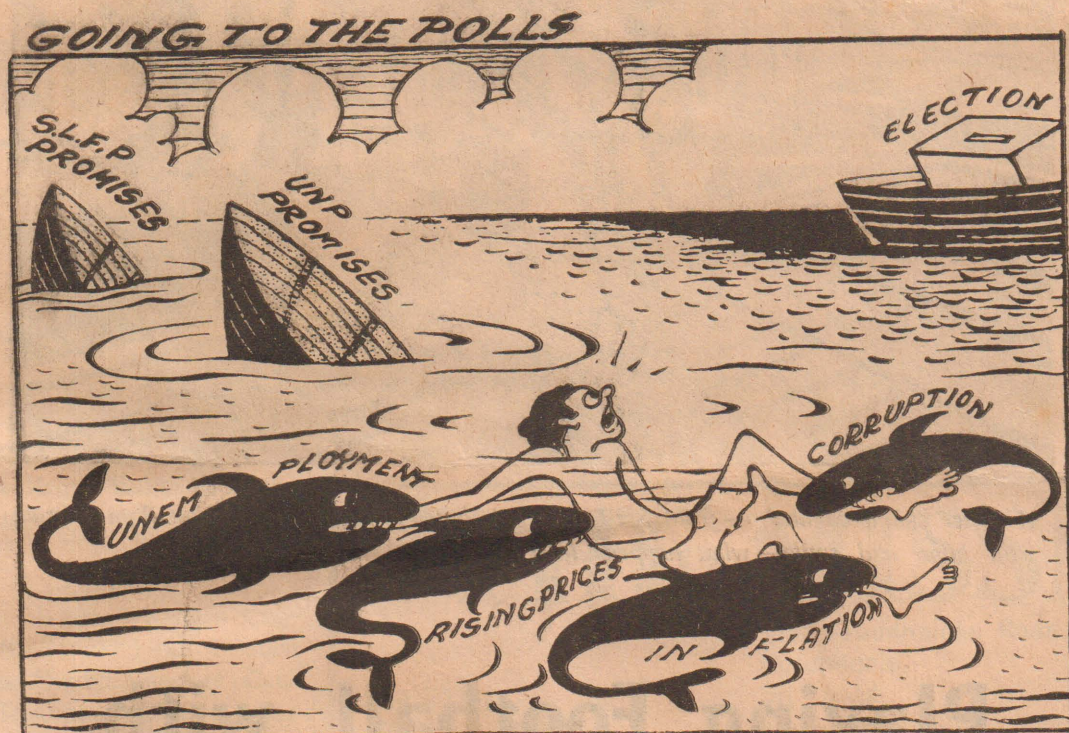
**STILL BE PRESIDENT AND CHOOSE THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET OF MINISTERS"**

Mr. Jayewardene does not indulge in idle prattle. Whatever he says has significance. And the significance of the above statement is that if a regime antagonistic to him was installed, he could dissolve Parliament and attempt to carry on alone. It is all provided for in the Constitution of the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka".

Would this Pakistan-like situation develop in Sri Lanka? Could it ever happen that way? Should it happen that way?

All idle speculation! Some would say.

**TO THE DOUBTING THOMASES, I WOULD URGE THAT THE QUESTION BE EXAMINED IN THE OVERALL PERSPECTIVE THAT I HAVE PLACED BEFORE THEM**



## Look out for the I. C. J. report

Beginning next week, Saturday Review will serialise the report of the International Commission of Jurists (I. C. J.), titled "ETHNIC CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA". The report was written by Professor Virginia A. Leary, of the Faculty of law and Jurisprudence in the State University of New York at Buffalo, U.S.A. at the end of a mission to Sri Lanka that she undertook in July-August 1981 on behalf of the I. C. J.

A review of this publication written by Saturday Review guest writer Rajan was published in the columns of this paper dated February 13, 1982.

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## NEWS BRIEFS

### EYE DONATION SOCIETY INAUGURATED IN JAFFNA

An Eye Donation Society, sponsored by the Jaffna Lions Club, was formally inaugurated in Jaffna on 5 March. The Society, which is affiliated to the Eye Donation Society of Ceylon, decided at its inaugural meeting to carry out an intensive propaganda campaign at village level. Dr. N. Saravanapavanathan was elected President, Mr. Jayasingh David Secretary and Dr. M. Suntheralingam Treasurer of the Society.

### TWELVE THOUSAND VACANCIES IN TAMIL SCHOOLS.

At the 7th annual general meeting of the All Ceylon Tamil Teachers Association held on 5 March the Report submitted by the Secretary pointed out that there were 12,000 vacancies for teachers in Tamil schools throughout the island. The Report urged the Minister of Education to take immediate action to fill at least the majority of vacancies. Messrs. D. S. Wanasinghe and K. Mahasivam were re-elected President and Secretary respectively.

### LOGOS EXHIBITION AT JAFFNA YMCA

An exhibition of books from the International Book Ship Logos which opened at the Jaffna Y.M.C.A., on 5 March will continue till 18 March. A team from the ship will also hold an Open Air Rally — 'a presentation of hope and New Life'—at the Open Air Theatre, Jaffna, on 17 March.

### SOVIET BOOK EXHIBITION AT THE JAFFNA TOWN HALL

A Soviet Book Exhibition was held at the Jaffna Town Hall from 7th to 9th March. The Exhibition was held earlier at the Jaffna Campus on 4th and 5th March.

### VAVUNIYA NEGLECTED BY SUCCESSIVE GOVERNMENTS

Successive Governments have neglected the development of Vavuniya district and have not formulated or implemented any concrete development plans, said the Vavuniya M.P. Mr. T. Sivasithamparam at a meeting where Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, Secretary to the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research was present.

### SALT SHORTAGE AT MANNAR

While the Salt Corporation has contracted to export a stockpile of 60,000 tons of Elephant Pass salt, there is an acute shortage of salt at Mannar!

### AMERICAN TEAM INSPECTS MAHADEVA CAUSEWAY

A team of American engineering experts inspected the Mahadeva Causeway at Pooneryn on which work is in progress. This team had specifically come down to discuss the blueprint for the Drinking Water Scheme for the Chavakachcheri Electorate. The scheme, on which work will start shortly, is being financed by the American Government.

### NANDHI FLAG TO BE HOISTED AT PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

The Nandhi Flag, the official flag of the District Development Council, Jaffna will be hoisted along with the National Flag at all government and public institutions, during official functions. A resolution to this effect was passed by the Jaffna D.D.C.

### DEPT. OF FINE ARTS PRESENTS A FINE ARTS FESTIVAL

The Fine Arts Manram of the Dept. of Fine Arts, University of Jaffna, presented 'Nathavahini'—a festival of Fine Arts—on 8 March at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna. The Chief Guests were Prof. K. Indrapala, Head of the Dept., of Fine Arts, and Mrs. Indrapala.

### MUSIC FESTIVAL OF YOUNG ARTISTES' MANRAM

The 10th annual Music Festival of the Young Artistes' Manram which opened on 10th March at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, will continue till 20 March. The daily programme begins at 5 p.m.

### ARMY ON THE RAMPAGE ALLEGES M.P.

The M.P. for Kayts, Pundit K. P. Ratnam has complained to the D.I.G. (Northern Range) that Army personnel had smashed up some shops at Puliyanakoodal Junction and Velanai Vankalavadi Junction on the night of 7th March.

### KACHCHATIVU FEAST CANCELLED

The Kachchativu St. Antony's Feast which was scheduled to begin on 11 March has been cancelled. The official reason given was that there is an outbreak of cholera at Rameshwaram.

### EXHIBITION OF TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

An Exhibition of Technology for Development, jointly sponsored by the Vaddukodai Lions Club and Jaffna College, will be held from 15th to 20th March at Jaffna College, Vaddukodai.

### K.K.S. LIBRARY NEEDS MORE BOOKS

The new Library at Kankesanthurai is in need of more books. A request has been made to the Leader of the Opposition and the M.P. for K.K.S., Mr. A. Amirthalingam, to allocate Rs. 50,000 from the decentralised budget for the purchase of new books.

### UNIVERSITY TAMIL MANRAM CELEBRATES BHARATHI CENTENARY

The Tamil Manram of the University of Jaffna celebrated the Bharathi Centenary on 6 March. A Bharathi Book Exhibition was also held in this connection.

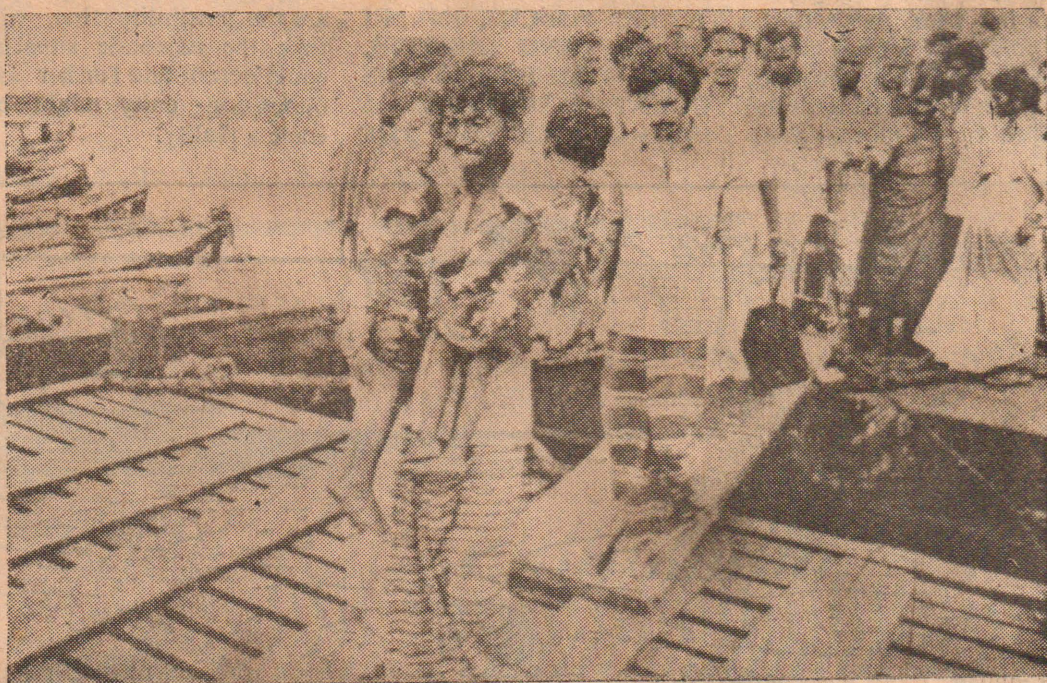
## POLICEMEN TOO CONTRIBUTE TO THE JAFFNA LIBRARY FUND

Policemen, including Sinhala policemen, attached to the Kankesanthurai Police Station have made a donation to the Jaffna Public Library Fund.

They handed over their voluntary contributions to the schoolboys who visited government institutions, including the K.K.S. Police Station and the A.S.P's Office, to collect funds for

the Library by selling flags during the Library Week launched by the Jaffna Municipal Council in a bid to raise funds for a new wing of the Library.

The Jaffna Public Library was partly burnt down along with 95,000 volumes, it will be recalled, on the night of 1 June, 1981, a few days before the District Development Council elections, by policemen in mufti.



*A bitter 'home-coming' — from Sri Lanka: A batch of repatriates land at Rameswaram with hope and smile—what happens later?*

## Playing Football with the stateless Tamils

told me that for three or four generations their families had been living on the same plantation. Since they hardly know what life is like outside that hilly area, how could they be expected to know about life in India?

Some of them opted for repatriation simply because they were promised jobs, housing, education for their children and a settled life in a new and welcoming world. As life was hard in the plantations, any offer to change was always attractive to them. However, they have noticed lately that as soon as their friends' applications for Indian citizenship are accepted, then these friends lose their job at the plantation and must begin to pack.

On reaching India, which is supposed to be their motherland, they find themselves to be complete strangers, even though they have the same skin colour as the Indians and speak Tamil.

They face hostility from the locals, who consider them rivals. They are unable to compete for the better job opportunities and have to accept jobs anywhere in order to survive. Jobs offered in industry cause serious adaptation problems because they have little or no experience outside the plantations.

Furthermore, as only one member of each family is offered a job, the rest of the family with all their belongings must travel with the working member. They cannot easily find housing as the government promised, because government loans for housing are seldom adequate and application for housing are frequently delayed by corrupt practices within government departments.

From all that I saw and heard while among the estate Tamils in Sri Lanka, I feel that it is more appropriate to label the repatriation programme deportation.

*(Continued on page 11)*

A Letter sent to the 'Far Eastern Economic Review' by Christina Tse of Hong Kong and published in its issue of Feb 26, 1982

The article DROPPING THE FOOTBALL (Far Eastern Economic Review, Jan. 8) about the fate of the 600,000 Indian Tamils who are victims of the citizenship laws in India and Sri Lanka, reports on the numerical aspects of the repatriation of Tamils to India but fails to report on the human aspects which lie behind these numbers.

First, let us be clear about the fate of those who have been repatriated. I was in Sri Lanka two years ago and spent some time living with tea-plantation workers. They



# President Reddi's visit: An inside view

Pounded by parliamentary and professional critics for its abject dependence on western news networks, Sri Lanka's otherwise popular TV station, the infant ITN, has recently paid token homage to the new information order, non-alignment and good neighbourliness by accommodating Indian news. The first such item showed a jubilant D. B. Wijetunge, Post and Telecommunications minister, on the phone to his Indian counterpart, C. M. Stephen. After this convivial chit-chat which came loud and clear was over, the Indian High Commissioner exchanged pleasantries with his vis-a-vis, New Delhi, and Sri Lanka's deputy High Commissioner in Madras.

The occasion was the opening of a microwave tele-link from Colombo. Indian-made equipment and installation costs were part of an Indian grant, and the project itself, in Wijetunge's happy phrase, a "landmark" in Indo-Sri Lankan understanding. Certainly, postal, telegraphic and telephone services between these two close neighbours have too long been unaccountably wretched and harrowingly unpredictable.

While progress in technical facilities is undoubtedly a welcome advance, Colombo-Delhi communication itself shows much room for improvement. If anything, President Sanjiva Reddi's six day visit (February 2-7) was a cheerless reminder that the communication channels had got more and more clogged in recent times. Whereas most western diplomats were too easily inclined to downgrade this "purely ceremonial visit of a lame-duck president", the Sri Lankan authorities were perhaps too eagerly alert to any sign that the high-level messages recently sent to Delhi have been well received.

## LALITH & RONNIE

On his way back from Beijing, Trade Minister Lalith Athulathmudali returned via Delhi where he met Mrs. Gandhi; in Colombo he said India had accepted "Sri Lankan assurances" about the impending deal with a US coastal corporation for a giant "tank farm" for oil storage in strategic Trincomalee. Finance Minister Ronnie De Mel who attended the Indian Republic Day celebrations also met Mrs. Gandhi. He claimed that he had "allayed" Indian apprehensions about the extension of special facilities in Trincomalee to the US.

Although one Indian official in President Reddi's entourage is known to have taken a private car ride to Trincomalee, it was described in the best British diplomatic manners that both

Delhi and Colombo office-wallahs have so assiduously cultivated as "Probably of touristic interest." Otherwise, the presidential visit was carefully kept at the level of a "goodwill visit", full of "bhai-bhai"

APPREHENSION: But on January 22, the *Daily News* made a bold headline of the joyous news that President Reddy was to visit Jaffna, and described it as "a significant step towards national harmony". Since the visit

by Mervyn de Silva

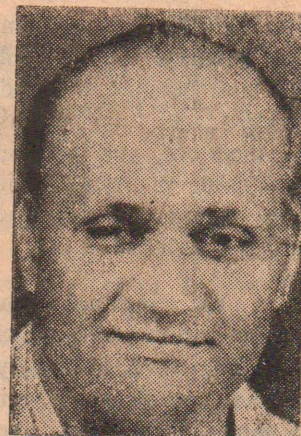
India Today — February 28

and warm embraces, but of little political significance.

Wholly significant, if symbolically so, was the Colombo-Delhi-Madras telephone conversation on the new microwave. The sensitive implications of these triangular Colombo-Madras-Delhi ties have begun to complicate and bedevil a previously straightforward relationship. In as much as Madras and Delhi have a direct interest in (and bearing on) the destinies of two groups of Tamils in Sri Lanka who together number three million in a population of nearly fifteen, the Delhi-Madras connexion as well as domestic, Tamil Nadu politics could touch a raw nerve of Sri Lankan society at a time when majority-minority conflicts have become a visibly volatile factor.

But, the major hitch in Indo-Sri Lankan relations is the Tamil problem. On the island the two Tamil communities live far apart and espouse very different causes. The indigenous "Jaffna Tamils", less than two million are mostly concentrated in the northern peninsula, their traditional homeland and the closest point to South India. They have a strong presence in the eastern province too. The rest are scattered throughout the seven (Sinhalese) provinces. Those who wield a measure of political influence by virtue of wealth (inherited property or business) or social standing (senior public officers, top professionals) or numbers (petty traders, clerks, teachers) live in Colombo and its suburbs. The hearts of the upper strata may lie with their northern compatriots but their purse strings are tied to the conservative UNP. The sympathies of the lower income groups, especially the educated youth, move towards the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

was not in the original itinerary, Delhi frowned on this last-minute change which the *Daily News* openly stated was "a TULF request". Delhi's explanation that the trip would be "strenuous" seemed lame in view of the fact that Reddy was to spend only one hour in Jaffna, and the plane journey from Anuradhapura to Jaffna was 20 minutes. Diplomats felt it had more to do with Reddy relations with Mrs. Gandhi, his "unconventional" Republic Day address, and the fear perhaps that he may say something in Jaffna which was out of line. An-



## Amirthalingam Getting the carrot treatment now

way, Amirthalingam met him thrice and had at least one long conversation. And Thondaman, minister of rural industries and union boss of Indian plantation labour, sat beside Reddy all the way from Colombo to Anuradhapura by train.

At the famous botanical gardens in Kandy, Reddy stole the hearts of the crowd by declining to use a silver plated shovel and scooping the brown earth, instead, with his bare hands. "I am a peasant," he said as he went

through the ceremony of planting a tree. The tree, in question, according to Sinhalese folklore, was strong enough to produce a stick that could control an elephant. President Jayawardene, whose party symbol is the elephant, remarked that it was also useful to "control opposition parties". It is not clear whether he meant the opposition in India, Sri Lanka or both. In any case, he is no longer using the stick to deal with the TULF but the carrot.

It was the Sinhalese racist hoodlums who used the "big stick" in July-August and it was the Colombo-Tamils who got the beating. This psychological softening-up of the influential Colombo-based Tamil upper class put the TULF leadership under pressure. Whether this was part of the Government's game-plan is anybody's guess. But the TULF is now at the negotiating table. The critical issue is district councils' powers and central Government funds. If this exercise in devolution works, the TULF's moderates will win over the Tamil majority in the north, and thus isolate the militants who cover the spectrum from the TULF's own radicals to assorted leftist groups to the "Liberation Tigers" in the bush.

## "LET OLD LANDMARKS BE LEFT ALONE": A CASE OF MAJORITY INSENSITIVITY

The Christians of Tamil Nadu are naturally upset about the move to rename Cathedral Road in Madras as "TTK Road". To demonstrate their inter-denominational "solidarity" over this issue, Catholics and Protestants jointly held mass prayers in churches throughout the state last Sunday. Even more striking was the tolling of bells simultaneously in all the churches as a mark of peaceful protest.

Cathedral Road has a certain historical association, apart from being a fine name. Where is the need to change it? No one would grudge efforts to honour the memory of former Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari. But is there no way to commemorate his distin-

guished services to the country other than by renaming a city road after him? Though Christians may feel particularly hurt, other sections of the Madras public also cannot be happy about the move to tamper with an old landmark of the city.

(INDIAN EXPRESS EDITORIAL MADRAS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3 1982.)

The Tamil Nadu ruling circle's insensitivity in such matters has been growing over the years. The craze for renaming places and institutions is part of a petty chauvinistic approach, shared alike by AIADMK and DMK politicians. One can understand 'Mayuram' in Thanjavur district being replaced by

its original Tamil name, Mayiladuthurai (place where the peacock dances). It is more poetic no doubt, though northerners would find it more difficult to pronounce than the Sanskritised name. The state government also tried to rename Kodambakkam, the filmland of Madras, as 'Kalaivanar Krishnan Nagar' in memory of the celebrated actor. But the proposal fell through. Surely, Kodambakkam cannot be accused of any trace of Sanskrit! For that matter, the attempt to erase all the traces of the Sanskrit heritage of Tamil Nadu does not add to the glory of the culture that is sought to be promoted. Whether the names are in Sanskrit or English, let old landmarks be left alone.



## From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

### Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon - Thursday November 8, 1928

(Continued from last issue)

Another point as regards universal suffrage in this, that the Indian coolies ought not to have this universal suffrage. I have already shown that people should not be given franchise unless they have at least some capacity to govern themselves and to guide themselves aright. Individual self-Government is absolutely necessary for human beings, and those who are in the habit of governing themselves might have a share in the administration of the Government of the country.

The Donoughmore Commissioners say that there must be universal suffrage both for men & women, and that the Indian coolies necessarily ought to get it too. There is a condensed statement in the report of the Immigration Commissioner as regards the Indian electorate. The term "Indian" means a person of British India or of the territories of any native Prince or chief who is a resident of Ceylon but is not domiciled therein. It is the opinion of some people here that the Indian coolies should not be given this universal suffrage. As a matter of fact, the Commissioners say that the Indian cooly should have resided in Ceylon for five years before he can exercise the vote, or should have been in Ceylon for six months....."

Honourable Members: Six months in the electorate.

The Hon. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan Kt., K.C., C.M.G.: I say, Sir, that condition is not a fair one, that is to deny some suffrage to the Indian coolies. I am altogether against universal suffrage, but the Indian coolies as much as any other community in Ceylon should have some suffrage.

No land belongs to any King. Every piece of land in world is God's land. One nation comes in and passes out in course of time, and another nation comes in and holds the land for time, and so on. Like the waves of the oceans, there are inundations going on. Nations comes and go out. A nation may hold a land for a thousand years, or even for two thousand years, but it holds the land temporarily only. That nation may say "This is our land. Be careful, and do not come here." Hind-

us and Buddhists say that that is the language of the fool. Every land belongs to God. He introduces his nations, wipes them out, and another nations come in. And let no man do what is not just and what is not righteous.

Take, for instance, the Sinhalese nation with which we are related so intimately. They did not know of this land some 2,500 years ago. They were living in Singapura, in Northern India, in a country which was then called Kalinga. The prince rebelled against his father and he and seven hundred of his companions were put into a boat and were told, "Do not come to this land". They did not know where they were going but anyhow they skirted the Indian coast and would not go far into the deep. They landed occasionally to refresh themselves, and went from place to place.

### "An offence against the Buddha" — Sir. P. Ramanathan

At last they came near Ceylon and steady winds began to play. If the north-east wind blows near Negapatam it is sure to drive any ship into the western side of Ceylon, and tradition says that prince and his followers landed near Puttalam, crossed over to Anuradhapura and adopted this country as their land. Another tradition says that the prince and his followers landed in Trincomalee and then went across to Anuradhapura. Anyhow, the prince and his followers did not know that they were coming to Ceylon. They were wafted to Ceylon by the breezes or the hand of God. They came and assumed possession of this land, and they have flourished.

In that state of things, is it right for persons who have come into God's territory, owned at present by the great British Empire whose policy is a policy of freedom, and who will be glad to admit all kinds of people, provided they are quiet and subservient to law, to come and settle down, earn a living and go away in peace, unless he be a declared enemy—there is no place for the enemy; that is the rule of eternal life and the rule of the British Government—is it fair for some people to say to these poor Indian coolies who, like them, came from India "Off you go from this country"? I say it is not

# the First FRANCHISE debate

right to do so, not right according to the political law of Great Britain, and not right according to *sana-thana dharma*.

Now that the truth is known, what becomes of the doctrine of "Off you go"? Those people must say "We shall not drive you off" to the Indian cooly.

There are people, Sir, amongst the Buddhists, who would not kill a scorpion, or a cobra. If they see one they drive it off. How can such people tell the Indian coolies "This is not the place for you. You had

I am now going to deal with communal representation, Sir

The Hon. The Vice-President:—That does not come within this group of motions.

The Hon. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt., K.C., C.M.G.:— Then I will avoid it, Sir. Shall we adjourn for tea now?

The Hon. The Vice-President:—You have something more to say?

The Hon. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt., K.C., C.M.G.:— Yes, Sir.

The Hon. The Vice-President:—Then we will adjourn for tea now. Council adjourned for tea.

On resuming—

The Hon. Sir PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN, Kt., K.C., C.M.G.:— I was speaking about the undesirability of giving universal suffrage to persons who cannot govern themselves and who are given to committing wicked crimes. Now come to the question of giving the suffrage to common labourers who have no education of any kind, and who may be led away by men who like to make a living out of them. During the last few months, or rather during the last year or two, we have had labour associations and we have also seen that there are some persons who for their own purposes of self-aggrandizement utilize the labourers and their legitimate earnings. We have seen also, during the last few months, strikes regularly hatched amongst the labourers, and notwithstanding the efforts of employers of labourers to do all they could for their benefit the strikes have gone on. The trouble is the intervention of some labour leaders against the peaceful settlement proposed by the employers. What good, I ask, would come to the country by giving these labourers the suffrage, that is to say, a share in the administration of the Government of the country by nominating representatives to enter the Legislative Council? These selfish leaders would carry the schemes and intrigues prevailing among uninformed and uninstructed

men to the Legislative Council. It would create a condition of things most unsuitable for those who could govern the country properly and who, owing to these difficulties, would not be able to do so.

Then, as regards franchise it was not known what it really is. All kinds of statements have been formulated which cloud the issues. But really and truly when we come to examine it, franchise means freedom, freedom from compulsion or bondage from which people may be suffering, and implies that an effort should be made by such people to free themselves from their bondage. Even in the matter of religion there was a fight for religious freedom amongst the priesthood and the laity. The Christians, for instance, divided themselves into parties — Roman Catholics, and Protestants amongst whom, according to Gladstone, there are 600 sects. All that was due to the struggles on the part of men who thought that they and nobody else had the truth. Then we know how civil liberty was won in England in the reign of King John by the signing of the Magna Charta resulting from the rising of the Barons against the iniquities of the king. That was the first attempt of the English people at civil freedom in order to put down in writing instead of having an unwritten constitution, the laws about taxes, justice, and so on. Then we also know how a King of England in trying to recover tea money from the British Colonies in America found the Colonists fighting to be free from what they called unjust taxation and the consequent declaration of American independence as well as the initiation of the strange doctrine that every man must have equal rights. It is impossible for all men to be equal in the proper sense of the term so long as we have masters and servants. The servants must stand and serve their masters.

(To be Continued next week)





## Foreign View

# President Reddi's visit: The 'Hindu' report

No one denies that it was precisely the externals that were of prime importance in the recent State visit of Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddi to Sri Lanka which covered about 500 km and took the Indian President to Anuradhapura, Kandy and Colombo.

For apart from creating the "atmosphere" in which to work out solutions for all outstanding problems between the two countries, there was no evidence of any concrete political results. As the visit drew to a close the two Presidents became emotional and frequently referred to the harmonious and cordial relations existing between the countries. And attentive observers noted the hackneyed nature of these expressions.

Was any advantage taken of the "atmosphere" created by the visit to sort out some problems? Yes. Mr. Eric Gonsalves, India's Foreign Secretary and Mr. Thomas Abraham, India's High Commissioner in Colombo, quietly met top Sri Lanka officials including the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Samarasinghe, the Principal Secretary to the President, Mr. Menik-de-wela and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Jayasinghe and worked out possible approaches to the problem of stateless persons of Indian origin.

### TIME LIMIT LAPSES.

The Sirimavo-Shastri pact prescribed a time-limit of 17 years within which to implement its provisions. The Indian side forcefully made the point that the period had lapsed, and New Delhi could not be expected to keep the door open to an indefinite grant of citizenship and repatriation. During the 17 years of the pact's operation, 285,000 persons were repatriated to India, and at best, a similar number only could be sent to India during the remaining years of this century.

By 2,000 A.D. those remaining to be repatriated, would be third generation persons who would have neither parents nor grandparents born in India. Under Article 5 of the Indian Con-

stitution, such persons cannot be conferred Indian citizenship. This position is believed to have been appreciated by the Sri Lanka officials.

One solution that emerged during the official level meeting would mean in effect that all those who have so far acquired Indian citizenship will be repatriated to India speedily as soon as formalities are completed and the remaining, irrespective of numbers, granted Sri Lanka citizenship.

While Sri Lanka would have taken only about 400,000 persons as citizens (including the natural increase) as per the pact, under the new arrangement India and Sri Lanka would each assume responsibility for 500,000 persons. President Jayawardene is credited with the desire to solve the problem once and for all, and this arrangement is expected to have his blessings.

### SLOW PROCESS.

Sri Lanka officials, however, warn that the time frame for the new arrangement would necessarily have to be the product of a slow process because of political compulsions. With the elections approaching sooner than later, the Sinhala parties are scared of adding non-Sinhala voters to the electoral list.

It is agreed on all hands that in the inventory of Indo Sri Lanka relations the problem of stateless persons of Indian origin has been the foremost irritant and the sooner it is removed, the quicker will entente be reached — so volubly proclaimed by both sides.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka Freedom Party leader however, feels that she had solved the Stateless persons problem once and for all when she was Prime Minister and if the pact has not been implemented in full, the blame should be squarely at the door of the United National Party Government. She is opposed to any changes in the pact which are likely to increase the burden on Sri Lanka.

The official parleys also covered economic collaboration between the two countries which has admittedly a limitless scope. A few joint ventures are in operation as in truck manufacture and

fertilizer production. There is a possibility of the Rail India Technical and Economic Services undertaking modernisation of the Sri Lanka Government Railways

Sri Lanka has shown interest in oil exploration in its offshore areas by India's ONGC on a production sharing basis. The present position is that Sri Lanka has leased out three-fourths of its offshore blocks to a number of foreign oil companies like Cities Services Corporation, Amadarc and Aracca Petroleum Co. of U.S. Sundance Company and Phoenix Corporation of Canada.

The remaining area is in the southern portion and ONGC will have to assess whether the prospects are

*In this three-part series, the Hindu's Special Correspondent, Mr. S. Parthasarathy, who covered President Reddi's, tour of Sri Lanka analyses the ruling UNP's poll prospects and the state of Sinhala-Tamil relations in the Island.*



President Reddi

good enough to commit its limited resources.

Also ONGC will have to drill in deeper waters since the blocks where the seabed is at a depth of 200 metres have already been leased out to the foreign oil companies.

For the most part of the visit, Mr. Reddi delivered

speeches which were mainly confined to references to the hoary past. But an odd sentence here and an odd one there did stick out, alluding as they did to some of the controversial matters, as when he spoke in Tamil replying to the address presented by the Indian origin citizens in Colombo. Observers are not sure whether there was any special significance to these.

The Tamil United Liberation Front has been boycotting the National Day celebration all these years. It did not want to make an exception this year because of the Indian President's participation. Mr. Reddi knew of the TULF attitude and urged its leader (Leader of the Opposition in Parliament) not to boycott the receptions and banquets given to him. Mr. Amirthalingam readily agreed and kept his promise. Adverse notice was taken of "the excessive solicitude" of the President to Mr. Amirthalingam in some of the local newspapers.

Colombo was keen that the Indian President's twice or thrice postponed visit should materialise, and it was very happy when at last Mr. Sanjiva Reddi did make the trip and go through the itinerary prepared by the host Government.

When New Delhi called off the visit planned for last August, Mr. Jayawardene, according to political observers in Sri Lanka, was worried that the then prevailing tension in Jaffna should have

been cited (at least indirectly) as the reason. He was concerned about the image of his Government abroad suffering because of the suggestion of insecurity for Tamils in their own homeland.

### EXCLUSION OF JAFFNA.

Why did not Mr. Reddi visit Jaffna, ask the Tamils of the Island in one voice. It is known that as early as January 21 Mr. Jayawardene agreed to the TULF request for the Indian President's visit to Jaffna and, in fact, gave the assurance that Mr. Reddi would have an opportunity to go there and even accept a civic reception.

Mystery surrounds Colombo's change of attitude at the last moment. A report in a Colombo journal states that the Jaffna Municipal Council's decision to invite the Indian President also to lay the foundation for the new wing of the public library to replace the one burnt down during the recent disturbances, made the Sri Lanka Government set its face against the visit. It was difficult to verify this. (Earlier Presidents made it a point to visit Jaffna).

Nevertheless the Tamil community did show enthusiasm to the Indian President programme in the Island and desired to take part in all the functions attended by him. In Anuradhapura the Tamil community was present in strength to show its respect to him and the country he represented.

(To be continued next week)

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# Amend or repeal these 2 antiquated laws

Laws are enacted by the Law-enacting body considering the conditions obtaining in a country at a given time. Laws as a rule have some protective intent or regulation of some practice. However, the passage of time and the resultant changed conditions that obtain, make the Laws passed at a given time either inadequate, obsolete or antiquated. Unless the Law-enacting body is alive to these changes and makes suitable amendments or even repeal them, some laws are bound to become antiquated.

The Antiquities Ordinance of Sri Lanka is a piece of legislation handed down to us from the Colonial times. It is still in our Law books without any suitable amendment being made. One of the provisions of this Law is the complete prohibition of Archaeological work by anyone other than the Archaeological Department itself. However, the Commissioner of Archaeology has the power to grant permission to anyone to do Archaeological work with or without conditions imposed.

## CODRINGTON REPORT

While Archaeology is a science in itself, it has much to do with History and teaching of history. Today, knowledge has so expanded that any one discipline is made perfect through inter-disciplines. Archaeology is no exception. It is, today, dependent on Science (such as C — 14 tests) History, Geography and Anthropology — to say the least.

In Sri Lanka, History is taught in more than one University. There is no doubt that for a critical study of History—especially ancient history—the knowledge of archaeological explorations and findings are indispensable. In Sri Lanka we have in the various Universities qualified scholars teaching history who can do archaeology. But the Antiquities Ordinance prohibits them from doing actual archaeological work. It is no surprise because the Law was passed during the Colonial regime when there was no University in Sri Lanka, and further, at the beginning of University education in Sri Lanka, there were no qualified scholars who could do archaeology.

We have today at least five Universities teaching history, and we have more than one in each of these autonomous Universities,

scholars who can do archaeology. The question of teaching Archaeology at the Universities itself was considered by the Government of Sri Lanka and Prof. K. de B. Codrington of the London University was called in and requested to report on the subject. The learned Professor submitted a report and like all Sri Lankan reports this too had been shelved in the pigeon holes of the Education Ministry or perhaps more safely in the Archives. The late Professor G. P. Malalasekara, as Chairman of the National Council for Higher Education, made reference to this report in his Administration report for 1968/69. He says—

"The Council decided to obtain the advice of Prof. K. de B. Codrington on the development and teaching of Archaeology in the Universities. Prof. Codrington visited the Universities, held several discussions with the University teachers interested in Archaeology and officials of the Government Department of Archaeology and submitted a report to the Council on the 5th February, 1969.

## ANACHRONISM PERISTS

Prof. Codrington suggested that the teaching of Professional Archaeology should be established in Vidyalandara University. He did not exclude the possibility of Archaeology being taught in other Universities. In his report the expansion of facilities to teach Archaeology is divided into two phases. In the first phase the officials of the Government Department of Archaeology are expected to help the Universities to provide courses. In the second phase, the Universities are expected to be "self-sufficient" as far as expertise is concerned. The Council accepted the report in principle that archaeology as a special course should be taught in one University but deferred a decision on the selection of this University till a plan for Higher Education had been prepared.

Much water has flown underneath since 1969. There are in the Universities scholars competent to teach archaeology and do archaeology. But the provision of a Colonial era Ordinance still

prevents the University scholar from doing archaeology, and further the Government has also failed to allow them to teach Archaeology as a subject. Perhaps in the whole world, it is Sri Lanka that prevents the University scholar from doing field archaeology. While there is much talk about expanding the scope of courses provided and improving University education, this anachronism is allowed to persist. This is an eye-sore in Sri Lanka's higher education.

By allowing the University scholars to do archaeology, inter-University teams can embark on some excavation work, and when knowledge is pooled, better results would be arrived at. In fact the special excavations done in conjunction with scholars from foreign Universities did bear fruit and they were all from Universities and not from Departments of Archaeology. University education in Sri Lanka is forty years old and to exclude Archaeology from the University is a crying shame. Further, the Department of Archaeology housed in a dungeon-like building, with limited qualified staff and finances can do little towards the larger interests of Archaeology.

Thus, it is abundantly clear that the Antiquities Ordinance of the Colonial regime is very far from the practice and demand obtaining and is therefore, that far, antiquated and needs amendments.

The other Law that needs mention is the National Archives Law No: 48 of 1973. This Law is an up-dated revision of the Printers and Publishers Ordinance No: I of 1885 which was amended by Act No: 28 of 1951. Section 4 of the Ordinance as amended by Section 4 of Act No: 28 of 1951 reads thus:

**Section 4 :** "The Registrar shall transmit one of the copies of every book received by him under Section 2 to the Trustees of the British Museum in the United Kingdom, one to the University of Ceylon, and another to the Director of Museums in Ceylon."

That is to say that the Law compels a Printer/or Publisher to send to the National Archives four copies of the

printed book etc. of which one was retained by the Archives and the balance three were distributed as directed by Section 4 quoted above. Section 21 of the National Archives Law No: 48 of 1973 has increased the number of copies that should be sent by the Printer/Publisher from four to five. The additional copy is to the newly formed National Library Services Board.

Subsequently, the University Act No: 16 of 1978 came into operation and under Section 21 of the Act, the University Grants Commission was empowered to establish any number of mutually independent autonomous Universities. Thus, under this Act, the one and only one University of Ceylon which finds mention in Act No: 28 of 1951 and the National Archives Law No: 48 of 1973 has multiplied into six independent autonomous Universities. But

the benefits of the Law is today being enjoyed by the Peradeniya University alone. This tantamounts to a preferential treatment of the University of Peradeniya, and a serious and irreconcilable discrimination against the Universities of Colombo, Moratuwa, Kelaniya, Jayawardanapura and Jaffna. Viewed against the provisions of the Universities Law, the number of copies that should be sent to the Registrar, National Archives should be ten, to cover up the other Universities that are being meted out a step-motherly treatment. Therefore, Section 4 of the Law needs amendment. That far, the National Archives Law No: 48 of 1973 is also antiquated.

Will the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs, under whose purview these two Laws come, take this matter into serious consideration and do the needful?

## SMILING SENATOR TO GO TO JAIL ON BRIBERY CHARGE



Senator Williams

A Senator is an important person in American public life; as respected and influential as our own Members of Parliament. But even a Senator cannot get past the U. S. judicial process, if he is found guilty of bribery or corruption.

Time magazine of March 1st reports:

"As New Jersey's Democratic Senator Harrison Williams entered a Long Island N. Y. federal, courtroom for the somber business of being sentenced to prison, he was smiling. Through most of the nearly one-hour court session, he was smiling. He left the courtroom smiling. But when Judge George Pratt ordered him to spend three years behind bars (out of a maximum

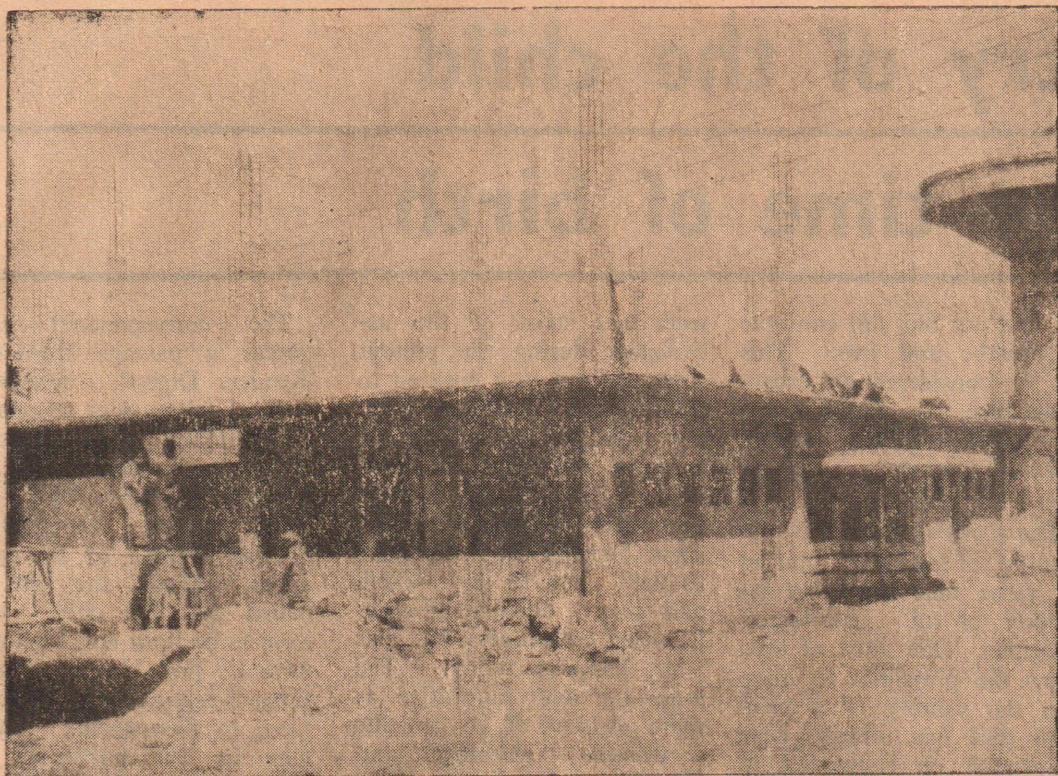
of 15) and pay a \$50,000 fine, Williams showed a deeper emotion; his pallid face momentarily flushed red.

Williams was sentenced for his Abscam bribery and conspiracy conviction of last May. A federal jury concluded that he had accepted a secret stock interest in a Virginia titanium mine and had agreed to use his senatorial influence to gain Government contracts to make the mining venture profitable. The Jury also found that Williams had agreed to help gain legal residence in the U.S. for the man offering to sweeten the deal with a \$100 million loan, an FBI agent posing as an Arab sheik. The transaction was surreptitiously videotaped by investigators and later shown on television news programs.

Williams' attorney pleaded with Judge Pratt to give the Senator a suspended sentence, arguing that his career was ruined. Prosecutor Thomas Puccio countered that Williams had "put his office up for sale" and "boldly lied to avoid conviction."

If Williams does not gain a reversal of his conviction, he will be only the second Senator to go to prison for crimes committed while in office.





## Jaffna puts up its own

## Cancer Treatment Centre

A Cancer Treatment Centre is now being built at the Tellipalai Base Hospital, Jaffna and will start functioning by August this year.

All these years cancer patients from the north — nearly one-fifth of the cancer patients in the island—had to go all the way to Maharagama-250 miles away.

The Northern Province Cancer Society and the Council for the Establishment of Cancer Treatment Centre, Jaffna District, had long agitated for the establishment of a centre in Jaffna. Their persistent efforts have at last met with success.

The two-storeyed building at Tellipalai—the first floor has already been completed and work is going on, on the second—will cost Rs. 1.75 million.

### Appeal for contributions

The late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's family has contributed Rs. 9 lakhs so far. The Lions Club, Rotary Club and N. P. Cancer Society have together contributed Rs. 2.3 lakhs. The balance has to be collected from the public.

The Government will provide the Cobalt Unit for the Centre which will be a modern one. But the necessary laboratory equipment and furniture, which will cost about Rs. 5 lakhs will have to be bought from funds collected from the public, as the Government may take a very long time to provide them.

The Hon. Joint Secretaries of the council for the Establishment of the Cancer Treatment Centre, Dr. S. Sabaratnam and Dr. S. Senathirajan, have sent out an appeal to Sri Lankans, both abroad and here, to contribute liberally so that the Council can collect the urgently needed balance of Rs. 1.3 million. They point out that this is a Government approved charity and contributions are tax-free. Already weekly cancer clinics are being held at Tellipalai.

## Can the Army impose punishment as they like?

— Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam

"All those who value human rights should unreservedly condemn the attempt by army personnel to impose punishment as they please — punishment which only a judge has the right to impose after a judicial inquiry", states Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam of the Tamil Liberation Front, a militant break-away group from the Tamil United Liberation Front, in a press release.

Innocent people. When theatres are permitted to hold late night shows, the Government should not allow the army to assault film goers returning home after late shows. Otherwise theatres should be ordered to shut down at nights.

"No one can complain if the police take suspects into custody and interrogate them or charge them in courts. If the army is invited to help the police, military personnel should be prevented from hunting down the public.

Referring specifically to the incident on the night of 5th March when Chelliah Rajendiram, 20, was shot by the Army a few yards away from his house on Stanley Road Jaffna, and taken to hospital in a serious condition, Dr. Tharmalingam goes on to say, "This is the second incident within a week in the Jaffna District. Innocent people, especially youths, continue to be assaulted and shot. If the army does not want people to move about freely at night—not ungodly hours—then it would be better to impose a curfew. That is the only way to safeguard the lives of in-

"A high army official issued a statement that they could not sit back and watch with folded arms ordinary citizens or service personnel being unjustifiably killed. Even before the ink on his statement had dried, another Tamil youth has been shot.

"I beg the parliamentarians of the Tamil United Liberation Front to raise these matters in Parliament and strongly condemn these incidents."

## "THE MISSING COCK"

114, Bauddhaloka Road,  
Kurunegala,  
Sri Lanka  
5-3-1982.

The Editor,  
"Saturday Review",  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

The late S. D. Tampoe was undoubtedly the most brilliant and outstanding criminal lawyer the Northern Bar had produced for all time. Many are the interesting anecdotes and witty retorts related about his thrusts and parries as defence counsel with Judge and Prosecutor.

Glancing through an old volume of "The Poetical Works of Tennyson" which had been presented on 23rd September 1916 by S. D. Tampoe to the late Dr. A. C. Evarts of Jaffna, which happens to be in my library, I found attached to the inner back cover of this book the following verse by S. D. Tampoe which had been printed and from which I could infer copies had been circulated by him at that time.

For the benefit of the present generation I thought I would send it to you for publication in your Review.

— Jaya Pathirana

### THE MISSING COCK

D. C. Jaffna.

Four men stood in the Jaffna Dock,  
Charged with the theft, of a Pariah cock  
While thieving the cock, they made it worse  
By drawing some blood from the complainant's nose,  
The judge was new from Galle he came  
And people thronged who heard his fame,  
"Who for the Crown?" he readily asked,  
"I" croaked a voice "'tis I who am tasked"  
"Well" said the Judge "who for the accused?"  
In stately guise the LEADER rose  
But gently whispered "I am for those"  
The Judge then turned and politely said  
"Yes, Mr. Crown, please go a-head."

"The case, your Honour is one of Hurt"  
"Theft of hens both alive and pert"  
"What" said the Judge "all hens no cock?"  
"Please Mr. Crown you give me the shock"  
"The indictment speaks of one single cock"  
"How explain this funny deadlock?"  
"Why?" said the Crown "hen-cocks they are"  
"And two hens to one cock equal are"  
The Crown went on and no one word  
Of either cock or hen was heard  
"And winding up, he sought his seat  
The backward drop, his safe retreat  
The Judge looked up, the Bench he knocked  
"Up! Mr. Crown! what of your cock?"  
"Ye-es your Honour as I-i-i will prove  
"Am sure of Hurt and that's my move.

Witnesses came and swore they 'spied  
That hurt was caused and Law defied,  
And two fat fowls roughly snatched,  
By villains four all well matched,  
The case was proved; the hurt to the hilt  
"Now for the Defence" what say to the guilt?"  
Up jumped our SENIOR, one foot he leapt  
Then slowly advanced, nay indeed he crept,  
He decried the Crown, of his fictitious cock  
Swore the innocence of the men in the Dock  
"If it is clear that the cock was not there"  
"To believe the Hurt" he held "was not fair"  
And down he sat as if heedless of odds  
Forgetting that "E'en a great Homer nods".

### JUDGMENT

"Guilty, you prisoners, of Hurt"  
"Acquit you on the charge of theft"  
"Doubt there is if the crown had a cock"  
"Benefit of Doubt, I give to the Dock"  
"The doubt of that benefit, I may predict"  
"Ten Rupees each" is a proper verdict"  
"Bind you o'er for your own good, mind!"  
"Kind you were to leave the cock behind."



Market Lane  
Udupiddy

Editor,  
Saturday Review

Dear Sir,

With reference to Mr. C. Ratnasabapathy's queries (Saturday Review March 6) and criticism of the article entitled "What is Astrology", I wish to invite his attention to the first query as to the first cry of the child being the time of birth. Please refer to the old text "Suntharasekeram", 1st Part dealing on "Juga Petham", 1937 Edition. Also please refer to the May 1977 issue of the Astrological Magazine edited and published by Dr. B. V. Raman of Bangalore, the famous and reputed Astrologer. He had answered this point in various issues of his Magazine. Also for the information of the querist I am quoting a passage from the Magazine of May 1977.

"PRASAVA JAATAKA SOOCHAKAM" enumer-

# The first cry of the child signifies the time of birth

ates that if Saturn is in the 5th or the 9th Navamsa the child will cry loudly during or after birth whereas the child will be incapable of crying if Saturn was in the 1st or 4th Navamsa. When Saturn is in the 8th Navamsa the birth will be a case of "placenta previ" while Saturn in the 6th Navamsa indicates birth under suffocating circumstances. In the 2nd Navamsa Saturn indicates delivery when the mother was unconscious. Saturn in the 3rd Navamsa indicates that fluid had entered the child's belly".

It may be that one child in a million may not utter

the first cry but still continue to breathe and live. This can be considered an exceptional case. So, as the saying goes 'One swallow cannot make a summer'.

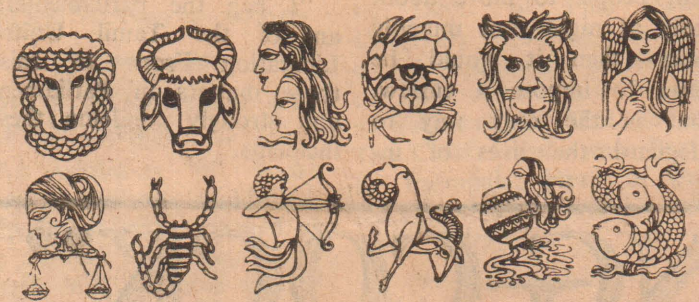
The querist pleads ignorance of astrology and at the same time questions the validity of an astrological principle. One must at least know the principles to question the validity of a principle that has already been enunciated or contradict it. On the ground that ignorance is bliss, one can excuse him.

The writer is perhaps unaware that astrology is a branch of the Vedas. It is

true that most of the astrologers during the present times are not in a position to do research because they do not have the means and the time to do that. In olden days people who were interested in this science spent lavishly on Astrologers to help them to do research and they adequately compensated astrologers but alas what happens today! The inquiring and inquisitive is quite satisfied if he consults a wayside astrologer and pays him a few rupees which is hardly enough for the poor man to exist. Under such circumstances, does the writer think that he can obtain good results from such consultations?

The correspondent also quotes a passage from the 'Readers Digest'. Whatever medical science does to relieve the troubles of the Doctors or pregnant women in the process of delivering the child either through the normal channel or by caesarean methods, the fact remains that the child will have to be born and it should have its first breath to continue living, at least for some time, in this world. Astrology in this particular instance is only concerned with the first cry of the child and does not bother whether the child is born during day time or night time. So the writer will realise that the passage in the Readers Digest has no relevance to the question of the first cry.

## HOW IS THIS WEEK FOR YOU ?



(March 14 — March 20)

S. Ratnarajah

### MESHA—ARIES.

Expect unexpected journeys in connection with professional matters. Your mind will not be at ease on Sunday. Your time will be absorbed in attending to matters concerning children and mother who will require help and assistance. This week will be busy one mostly attending to affairs concerning your family.

### RISHABA—TAURUS.

Your prestige will be high in official quarters and superiors will grant you favours for the mere asking. Spend Thursday and Friday with care. It will be "chandrastamana" days. You will have to face worries and disappointments. Those suffering from lung diseases will have to be careful. Children will cause worries.

### MITHUNA—GEMINI.

Professionally you will have a progressive period. Superiors will be helpful and you will be popular with your colleagues. You will have the urge to do social and religious work. Children will bring you enjoyment and happiness. Short journeys are indicated. Generally a happy and prosperous week. Do not part with money.

### KATAKA—CANCER.

You will have the help and the friendship of members of the opposite sex. Financial gains through government officers. In the case of some the father will gain a prominent place in social work and among friends and relations. Guard against stomach complaints. Minor upsets in the professional field.

### SINA—LEO.

Financially a prosperous week. Health-wise caution is essential. In the professional field there will be minor obstructions but in the end you will succeed. Journeys are indicated. Harmony will prevail in the family. A harmonious week where the benefits are more than the evil effect.

### KANYA—VIRGO.

Expect worries in connection with your spouse and parents on Sunday. For some this is a good week as regards professional matters. A transfer for the better is likely. You will gain prominence in social activities. Personal popularity will be high and equally expenses will also be high. Guard yourselves against accidents on Saturday.

### THULA—LIBRA.

The first three days of the week will give you unnecessary worries and expenses. You will gain the confidence of your superiors. Hidden enemies will try to harm you and cause obstructions to your progress. For some a younger brother will be helpful and come to your aid at the time of great need. Avoid social intimacy with members of the opposite sex this week.

### VRICHKA—SCORPIO.

For some journeys are indicated but you will have to be very careful while travelling. Be careful of your belongings and your acquaintance with fellow travellers. The latter part of the week is good in respect of your dealings with your superiors. There will be harmony in the family and you will indulge in religious activities.

### DHANU—SAGITTARIUS.

This is an unusually busy week for you. You will have no peace of mind. The health of a child will cause you some worry. For some this is a good week to do transaction of properties which will bring in unexpected profits. There might be petty thefts in your house this week. Generally speaking, the evil effects are predominant this week.

### MAKARA—CAPRICORN.

Your personal popularity will be high this week and you will enjoy unexpected benefits also. Your enemies will come to your feet and ask favours. Professionally a gainful period with help from superiors and also from strangers. You will enjoy the confidence of the opposite sex and benefits will accrue to you from such association. The spouse will be of great assistance.

### KUMBA—AQUARIUS.

Caution is required on Sunday as you are likely to have encounters with your hidden enemies and likelihood of accidents. Financial gains and professional benefits can be derived this week. The health of the spouse will cause anxiety for some but there is nothing to be alarmed of. Generally a good week.

### MEENA—PISCES.

Likelihood of accidents and displeasure with the friends and relations can be expected on Sunday and Monday. The latter part of the week will bring in happiness and contentment in regard to finance and professional enterprises. Superiors and friends and relations will be helpful during the latter half of the week. So make hay while the sun shines.

The other point he raises is about the dumb child. Is he not aware that even dumb children can utter cries under such circumstances? Perhaps the cry may sound in a different tone.

I presume that the querist is perhaps aware of a lone case where a child has not cried after birth for several years but, surely, he must be aware that it is breathing. With the first breath, at least, it must have wriggled in the hands of the Doctor or nurse or midwife.

One principle in Yoga is that if breathing stops the mind stops its functions and it is stilled. In order to achieve this, yogis practice pranayama.

Then the querist wants to know when cause and effect commenced. If the learned querist makes a deep study of Bagavathgeethai he will find that Lord Krishna tells Arjuna at the battlefield that life is eternal and there is no birth and death to the "atman" but that is only for the material body composed of the pancha pootham. The desires naturally will have a reaction. So this is a recurring process and this can only be stopped by yoga by which process the mind is stilled and it will have no more thoughts or desires to create karma or reaction. Thought is the seed of action and when there is no thought there cannot be any action or reaction. It would be better under these circumstances, for the querist to study at least the principles of astrology before he embarks on his voyage of discovery and questions the validity of its principles.

Yours faithfully,  
S. Ratnarajah.



# LETTERS

P.O.Box 41281,  
Riyadh,  
Saudi Arabia,  
21st February, 1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Kalai Nilayam Ltd.  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

I was delighted to receive a copy of your newspaper out here. It is about time such a venture was pioneered in Jaffna. I am a subscriber to the SRI LANKA NEWS published by the Lake House. All we read from it is the Government views and hardly anything on the Jaffna scene.

As you will agree the bulk of the Sri Lankans abroad are Jaffna Tamils. As such your venture is very viable if you provide the right format for the expatriate "Yarlpnathan". I am working out here on a contract from England. I am sure my friends in England will be eager to know of your newspaper.

I am very eager to subscribe to same and can introduce you to quite a few Sri Lankans in Riyadh and also in England....  
With Best Wishes.

Yours Sincerely,  
C. Balasubramaniam,

Aden,  
14th February 1982.

Dear Sir,

I should congratulate you and your staff on the new venture of bringing out SATURDAY REVIEW, a unique regional weekly in English. As a Tamilian I would have loved the week's digest in Tamil, but English as an international language serves a much wider audience and keeps them informed of the greatness of Tamil culture and the need to cherish it at all costs.

I am particularly happy the first issue is dated January 30, the historic day when Mahatma Gandhi, as the champion of truth and non-violence, laid down his life at the altar of peace and understanding among people of different faiths...

In addition to the news and views on the Tamil situation in Sri Lanka, I would expect a brief weekly review of the important items of news from India and other countries to make your publication a newspaper of the world unlike many other 'views-papers' that only serve narrow interests.

In the issues to come I hope to read feature articles on the greatness of Tamil culture and heritage, preferably with some literary flavour.

I am sure SATURDAY REVIEW will enjoy a high reputation among her readers and grow from strength to strength in the years to come, maintaining her non-partisan attitude and working for a healthy and civilised interaction among all peoples and Sri Lankans in particular

Yours faithfully,  
K. Venkatakrishnan.

C.15,  
University Quarters,  
Peradeniya,  
25-2-82.

Dear Sir,

The effort is worthy of congratulation. It should be sustained without interruption. I hope that academic and professional elites would extend unqualified support for this bold and praiseworthy endeavour. This matter should have been given priority in our urgent national requirements years ago. But better late than never.

Yours sincerely,  
S. Pathmanathan.

Pickering's Road  
Colombo 13

Dear Sir,

Your editorials, from the very first issue, have been very good and, if I may say, much appreciated by the readers of the Saturday Review whom I have come across. I am sure every reader of the Saturday Review would be holding the same view. Your latest editorial on March 6, is most excellent and very commendable and deserves much praise and thanks.

It is said that self-criticism is the best criticism. The Tamils, as a people, whether in Ceylon or India or elsewhere, have been having many faults and foibles in them. But they refuse to own or admit them; they even refuse to see them. This has been their tragedy and the cause of their degeneration and the present plight in which they are. They are very clever in seeing the other people's faults, even the minutest of them, and take pleasure and pride in pointing them out. But they will not see their own faults. They have become a people who see the mote in the other person's eyes and not the beam in their own eyes.

Of all people in the world the Tamils could easily be given the first place for fighting among themselves. Perhaps it is in their blood and tradition. Their forefathers have been dividing themselves into Cheras, Colas and Pandyas and attacking each other, even aligning themselves with the deadliest of their enemies, that they lost their kingdoms, wealth, culture and all, and became a subject race to be ruled, bullied and humiliated by others who had been nowhere when they were a mighty and a cultured race.

The Tamils of today have to be shown their faults and foibles by holding a mirror before them in which they can see their own selves as they

are, so that they could correct their faults and improve themselves. I think Saturday Review can serve as that mirror; and you Sir, as its editor, seem to be having the courage to hold that mirror before them. From time to time persons like Bharati, the poet, and a few others have been holding up such mirrors before the Tamil people. But the mirror of correction has to be held out constantly, otherwise, they will fail to see the faults in them and the dirt accumulating on them.

So, I wish more strength to your elbow, Sir.

I also find that you have introduced a new welcome feature in the same issue - the

## CARTOON.

If my guess is correct, the cartoonist is none other than Mr. Sivagnasuntharam, the creator, in Tamil, of the famous "Savari Thambar" and the Editor and proprietor of the Tamil monthly "Siriththiran" (your guess is correct, Ed) who single-handedly, has been holding up the mirror of correction to the Tamil people in our country for a very long time. He is not only a talented artist but also a searching observer of the faults and foibles of the Tamil people.

His contribution to the Saturday Review would, definitely, give more weight, colour and attraction to the paper and would enhance its reputation; and on the other hand, the opportunity for him to have his contributions published in an English paper would draw out his talent more and not keep him as a lighted candle under a bushel.

I hope that the Saturday Review would devote more space to bring about a self-reform among the Tamil people. It is the disease that is in oneself that kills one. So, that has to be cured first if one has to be healthy.

Yours sincerely,  
Arul M. Rajendran.

Balangoda.

Dear Editor,

The 4th March, the day of the funeral of the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Anthony de Saram, Bishop of Galle, was a notable occasion. Nine Bishops (the other Bishop was unable to attend due to unavoidable circumstances) were present at the funeral. Five of the Bishops were Sinhalese, three were Tamils (from the Northern and Eastern Provinces) and one an Italian, the Pope's representative Rt. Rev. Dr. Nicola Rotunno.

During the service, the Chairman of the Sri Lanka Bishops' Conference preached both in Sinhala and Tamil. One of the readings from the Holy Bible was in Tamil: it was read by Rev. Fr. Jacob Fernando, S. J.

from South India who has worked for the past 25 years in the Galle diocese. One of the hymns too was in Tamil, proclaiming the message that "God is Love" ('Anbe Kadavul').

When the late Bishop Anthony de Saram came to the Galle diocese 17 years ago, he chose as his motto and program: "IN CHRIST FOR MY BROTHERS". The theme of the Lenten program chosen by the Bishops for the Lenten campaign: "WE ALL ARE BROTHERS", fittingly echoes the late Bishop's motto. The slogan 'WE ALL ARE BROTHERS' is written below the picture of four 'brothers' representing the four communities: Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and Burgher.

May the late Bishop, who is undoubtedly in Heaven, bless and make fruitful the slogan chosen by the Bishops' Conference, of which he had been the Chairman for so many years. Even in Heaven he will not be able to rest. There is plenty of work for him to do during this "Election Year" to ensure peace and serenity. The racial and religious drums are being beaten in a desperate attempt to whip up frenzy. Couldn't politicians please announce publicly that they are interested in the true development of ALL THE PEOPLE, without any discrimination of race or religion.

After the service, some one remarked: If every Bishop follows the example of Rt. Rev. Dr. Mark Fernando of Chilaw who preaches in both Sinhala and Tamil, the Church of Sri Lanka will become a microcosm of a peaceful and racial by harmonious society.

P. S. Pio Ciampa S. J.

University of Jaffna,  
Jaffna, Sri Lanka,  
Department  
of Economics,  
1st March, 1982.

Dear Sir,

I am happy to be one of the thousands of readers of your esteemed newly born weekly the Saturday Review. The quality of the paper is improving surprisingly and your editorials are stimulating. For the benefit of the readers, I would, however, like to mention one shortcoming which is excusable but avoidable. I mean some printer's devils observable in all the issues published so far. A little more attention to proof reading will definitely rectify the shortcoming.

I wish you and the Saturday Review every success. Thank you.

Yours faithfully,  
Mathews M. Anthonymuttu.

## Playing Football with the ...

(Continued from page 4)

Secondly, what about the fate of the Tamils who stay in Sri Lanka? When I talked to the plantation workers there, they could not understand why the government has to repatriate and reject them. The Indian Tamils were imported by the British Colonisers from India to work in the plantations of Ceylon. Since then, they have made significant contributions to the country's economic growth. Their labour in tea, rubber and coconut plantations have enabled the country to gain an export earning of approximately 60% of all the foreign exchange earned by the country today.

But for these vital contributions they are paid only a meagre daily wage which does not allow them to stop work even if they are sick. Moreover, daily - waged workers are constantly faced with the threat of dismissal.

In fact, most of the estate Tamils are stateless and second-class citizens. It means that they can never participate in the country's affairs like other residents, even though they have been settled there for generations. Have they been working at these same plantations for all these years only to be disqualified from getting citizenship?

The legal basis for this

discrimination to disenfranchise the Tamils was the Citizenship Act of 1948 which differentiated between citizens by descent and citizens by registration. To register as citizens the Tamils must produce a birth certificate, but the government has not given them any registration facilities in the areas where they live and work. Therefore there are no records of registration of births among them.

The question your article raises of whether India or Sri Lanka has sufficiently honoured their agreement must be further amplified by the basic human rights of the plantation workers themselves.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Jaffna Mayor

## Keeps out of T.U.L.F. courtesies to Minister

When Gamini Dissanayake the handsome, spruce Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development stepped down from his helicopter which had landed at Rodrigo Park, Kilinochchi on the morning of Saturday, 6th March, he had every reason to be jubilant.

Not only was there green bunting everywhere. There was the Tamil United Liberation Front's S. Nadarajah, Chairman of the Jaffna District Development Council, waiting to garland him and the TULF M.P. for Kilinochchi, V. Anandasangari, awaiting his turn to shake hands with him.

But the Minister's one-day official visit which began with so much fanfare and on so triumphant a note, ended with a right royal snub—from the TULF Mayor for Jaffna, Rajah Visuvanathan.

Even before the Minister arrived, the Mayor had vowed that he would not take part in any official function where the Minister was participating. And he kept to his word — and how!

One of the functions in the Minister's official programme for the afternoon was the formal handing over of the windmill pump — newly installed by the Northern District Water Resources Board in the Jaffna Municipality's Subramaniam Park to Mayor Visuvanathan.

But the Mayor would have none of it. He ordered the pandals dismantled and the Park Gate padlocked. And that was that. So the Minister had no option but to discreetly keep away.

Everyone expected the TULF parliamentarians to take the cue from the Mayor. But apparently they did an about-turn. Explaining their presence at the Jaffna Secret-

ariat where a District Agricultural Co-ordinating Committee meeting was held at 3 p.m. M. Sivasithamparam the TULF President who was there along with other TULF M.P's— V. Dharmalingam (Manipay) V. N. Navaratnam (Chavakachcheri), A. Alalasunderam (Kopay) —said that though a very grave situation was prevailing in Jaffna which should have really made them keep away from the Conference, they had decided to attend it so that they could tell the Minister directly about the seriousness of the situation. A lame youth had been shot dead by the Army at Atchuvally; only the previous night a youth cycling along Stanley Road, Jaffna, had been shot by the Army and had to be rushed to hospital in a serious condition. Several others had been assaulted by the Army and injured. He demanded an impartial inquiry to put a stop to all such incidents.

The Minister was all concern and sympathy. He assured the TULF M.P's that he would take up the matter with the Government and see that justice was done. Perhaps Minister Dissanayake did take some action because the day after his return to Colombo, an army detachment that was housed in the Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya, in the Jaffna town, and which was suspected to be responsible for some high-handedness on the highways, was ordered back to the Palaly camp. A definite relief to the town citizens, certainly, but may not be so to the poor villagers around Palaly!

Earlier at the Kilinochchi meeting held at the Town Hall, Kilinochchi, D.D.C. Chairman Nadarajah declared that at no stage would Kilinochchi be made a separate administrative district.

# Kachchativu festival off because of security risk?

Knowledgeable circles are very sceptical about the official reason given by the Sri Lankan Government for the cancellation of the Kachchativu Festival scheduled to have begun on 11 March.

The Sri Lankan Defence Ministry announced on 9 March that the festival had been cancelled because of an outbreak of cholera in Rameshwaram.

According to the official version, the Sri Lankan

Deputy High Commissioner in Madras had informed the Sri Lankan Government about the epidemic. Acting on this information, the Govt. had decided to call off the festival.

Well-informed sources underscore two salient facts which belie the official version.

They point out that the Indo-Ceylon Ferry service is still plying. Secondly, the regional service of All India Radio had, in its evening programme of 9 March, an-

nounced that the Sri Lankan Govt. had cancelled the Kachchativu festival because of an outbreak of cholera. The broadcast had made no mention of a cholera epidemic in Rameshwaram.

The real reason for the cancellation, these sources think, is the Sri Lankan Govt's fear that the influx of pilgrims from both India and Ceylon might be a serious security threat to the Sri Lankan naval post at Kachchativu.

## ENTREPRENEURS NEEDED TO EXPORT PALMYRA PRODUCTS

The Sri Lanka Export Development Board in collaboration with the Palmyra Board is interested in developing palmyra products for export. The most promising export items are fibre extracted from the base of the Palmyra stalk, leaf baskets, mats, packing boxes (for export of tea). Local companies interested in the export of these items are unable to do so owing to irregular supplies. If there are supplies there is an assured export market.

The Export Development Board is also proposing to recruit an expert from South India to advise on the technology of producing these products.

South India has done considerable research on the production and product adaptation of palmyra products. This expert will be attached to the Palmyra Board, but his services will be available to any entrepreneur wishing to utilise his services.

An EDB spokesman said that EDB is looking out for suitable entrepreneurs. The guidance of EDB and Palmyra Board together with financial support will be available for such entrepreneurs to establish palmyra-based industries.

(A 2 day Seminar on Export Promotion in the Jaffna District sponsored by the Bank of Ceylon in association with the North Ceylon Chamber of Industries commences today in Jaffna at 8-30 a.m.)

## Talk on 'the role of the temple'

Prof. K. Sivathamby, Head of the Dept. of Tamil, University of Jaffna, will give a talk on "The Role of the Temple in the Jaffna Social Formation — A Sociological Perspective" on 13th Saturday (today) at 10-00 a.m. at the Centre for Development Research, Education and Communication (DREC), No: 15, Sirambiady Lane (near Sridhar Theatre), Jaffna.

This talk is the first of a series of lectures sponsored by the DREC.

## Jaffna Public Library Fund

A religious dignitary, prominent professionals and businessmen were among those who made individual contributions to the Jaffna Public Library Fund during the Library Week (22-28 February), launched by the Jaffna Municipal Council.

Donors were:— E. Chellappah, Chellappah & Co -5,000/-; Janab K. M. M. Meeran Sahib - 1,500/-; Dr. S. A. Vettivelu - 1,000/-; K. Sadayar, Thavady, Kokuvil - 2,000/-; M. Sivasithamparam, M.P. (money collected by him) - 1,168/-; Rt. Rev. Dr. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna - 10,000/-; T. Alagaratnam, Newton Electricals-501/-; N. Vaitilingam & Co., - 1,000/-; K. Gunaratnam, Pillayar Metal Works-300/-; Mahendiran, Peninsula Glass Works-5,000/-; R. Arasaratnam, Arasco - 5,000/-; T. Subramaniasivam, Colombo Restaurant - 1,501/-; E. Thiruvathirai, 81, Manipay Road - 1,500/-; V. C. Masilamani, Rotary Printing Trade - 501/-.