

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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Editorial

On with the circus !

Wonders never cease, in Ceylon politics.

If we ignore the writings of historians, political chroniclers and political scientists, and sit down and take a logical look at the performances of Ceylonese politicians over the thirty four years since independence, some of the individual performances would put to shame the best of circus acts. Ceylon politics has produced several SPINELESS WONDERS, QUICK-CHANGE ARTISTES, CONTORTIONISTS, LION TAMERS, TIGER TAMERS, TIGHT ROPE WALKERS, CLOWNS and ILLUSIONISTS!

Imagine the Father of "Fifty Fifty" or Balanced Representation, and the uncrowned king of the Tamils and minorities G. G. Ponnambalam, Q.C., suddenly making a nose-dive in the air, and while the audience held their breath, emerging safely as Minister of Industries and Fisheries in D. S. Senanayake's Cabinet! Imagine Ceylon's Father of Revolution Philip Gunawardene, revolving so fast in the direction of the Left ending up close to right of centre in no time. As for quick-change artistes, imagine S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in Oxford bags, Oxford accent, with English oratory and Christian upbringing, emerging in white national and blue shawl as the successful champion of Sinhala Only and Buddhism! Imagine Sir John Kotelawala, the knight in shining armour, crowned King of Delft in the North and promising the late Handy-Perinbanayagam and a Kokuvil audience that he will amend the constitution to give parity of status to Sinhala and Tamil, becoming a vociferous champion of Sinhala Only in the south. It was one of those contortionist circus acts that failed. The Sinhalese voters refused to oblige him by holding the bouncing mat for him and he had a fall and hurt himself. Imagine the Marx brothers like N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and Pieter Keuneman doing an excellent job of tight-rope walking when they voted against the Sinhala Only Bill, only to end up years later grabbing the "Masala wadal" dead rope in Mrs. Bandaranaike's government.

Wonders in Ceylon politics, as we said, never cease, but hold your breath again, dear circus patrons, here is the latest act, and the performers, watch you, come from Jaffna. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress will now present you the biggest illusionist act known to political circus history. It is called EELAM DEVILRY. The performers, who belong both to the right and wrong side of seventy, have now grabbed the Eelam rope. At a recent Working Committee meeting held in Jaffna, the party has — 1. Called for a hartal on the opening day of the Sri Jayawardenepura Parliament; 2. Condemned the shooting and torture of Tamil youths. AND 3. Expressed gratitude to Mr. Sritharan of New York and Mr. Vaikunthavasan of London for having declared Eelam at New York on 14th January!

Now what next? Indications are that the Tamil Congress performers will now swing on the Eelam rope very hard. Very hard indeed. An old act with new performers!

The question is: Where are the traditional performers of this act? Have they abandoned it?



Exclusive!

Mrs. B fears rigging at the next General Elections

Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, 66, made history 22 years ago when she became the first woman prime minister in the world. She served a second stint in 1970-77. Last fortnight, the Sri Lankan opposition leader's 10 day visit to India caused much speculation in Sri Lanka. On her last day in the country, INDIA TODAY's S. Venkat Narayan spoke to Mrs. Bandaranaike, who spoke with the confidence of someone who is sure of a return to power. Excerpts from the interview :

Q. It is often said that what happens in India today will happen in Sri Lanka tomorrow. Mrs. Gandhi's defeat here in 1977 was followed by yours in Sri Lanka. Will her victory in 1980 be followed by yours in 1983?

A. I hope so and I think it will. In fact the present President of Sri Lanka was the one who said after Mrs. Gandhi was defeated that what happened in India was going to happen in Sri Lanka. Now we are quoting him. Jokes apart, the situation is such in Sri Lanka that if a fair and free election is held tomorrow there is no doubt that what happened in India can happen in Sri Lanka.

Q. Do you suspect the election may not be fair?

A. President Jayawardene has often said that except

turning a man into woman and a woman into man he can do anything. That can mean a lot. Look at the way they rigged elections in Jaffna. They sent the ministers, changed the officials who were sent by the election commission. They brought in people from other parts of the country. School teachers and people like that were put into polling stations without any instructions about what they were to do. Ballot boxes were removed. All sorts of strange things happened in Jaffna. They tried to rig the elections and they had the army out. They set fire to the library. Yet all this did not deter the people of Jaffna. They came out in large numbers and voted for the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front). Forty odd boxes were lost. I was told they were taken and burnt. That's

what happened in Jaffna. If they decide to repeat it in other areas, who can stop them?

Q. Do you think what the government of Jayawardene did to you was justified or was it political vendetta?

A. It was definitely political vendetta, unprecedented in the history of any country in the world.

Q. Do you admit that, in retrospect, things did go wrong during your regime of 1970-77?

A. I am supposed to have kept the emergency too long. Who judges that? Abuse of power: there is no definition of this in our law, even now.....

Q. You don't agree to that?

A. Certainly not, because I didn't bring the emergency alone. I have always acted upon the advice of the Security Council. It consists of, among others, the three service chiefs and the police chief. They meet every week. They discuss the situation and it is they who advised whether emergency should

(Continued on page 4)

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Director.

NEWS BRIEFS

Kelaniya Proclaimed Cholera Area

The Government has proclaimed Kelaniya a cholera-stricken area. People have been forbidden to use water from the Kelani Ganga. Cholera has spread to Kolonnawa, Jaala and Peliyagoda too.

Police Can't Harass Public, Says New IGP

'The Police have no right, under the law, to harass or assault members of the public. I will take action to stop the Police taking the law into their own hands', announced I.G.P. Rudra Rajasingham at a press conference after he assumed duties as the eighth—and the first Tamil—I.G.P. since Independence.

Home Guard Units from 1st May

Home Guard Units -- one of the main demands put forward by the TULF at its amity talks with the Government -- will be set up throughout the island on 1 May. The Units will be a thousand strong in every electorate. Though the TULF wanted the Units to be under the control of the District Development Councils, initially they will come under the President's Secretariat. A District Security Committee (members -- the District Minister, DDC Chairman, G. A., S. P.) will make the appointments. In every Grama Sevaka's Division, there will be at least one Home Guard Unit.

Campus Students Boycott Classes, Stage Protest Fast

Students of all the Faculties in the University of Jaffna boycotted lectures and staged a one-day fast on 18 March to protest the year-long detention, without trial, of Jaffna University undergraduate A. Vimalarajah at the Panagoda Army Camp.

Gandhiyam Secretary Quizzed Again

Dr. S. Rajasunderam, Organising Secretary of Gandhiyam Society, Vavuniya, was questioned once again at the Gurunagar Army Camp, Jaffna, on 15 March, for several hours.

New Head For Palmyra Board

The Palmyra Development Board's Extension Officer K. Nadarajah has been appointed its Chairman. He succeeds N. P. Jeganathan who resigned for personal reasons. Nadarajah is also the Secretary of the Palm Products Coop Societies Federation.

84th Cricket Encounter A Cliff-Hanger

The 84th "Big Match" between St. John's College, Jaffna and Jaffna Central College ended in a cliff-hanging draw, with Johnian last pair holding on grimly for nearly two hours aided and abetted by three dropped catches. The scores; St. John's College—139 and 146 for 9; Jaffna Central College—306 for 5 declared.

Dairy Farm At Mankulam

Work has already begun on buildings for a dairy farm on land adjoining the Mankulam Post Office. The G.A., Mullaitivu, K. Gnanachandran, has directed that the completed building -- which will cost about Rs. 1½ lakhs—should be handed over by August.

Medical Exhibition In Jaffna

The Jaffna Medical Association will hold a Medical Exhibition from 21 to 25 April at St. Patrick's College, Jaffna. The Association has also decided to conduct poster, slogan and essay competitions for schools, to make students more health-conscious.

Tamil Congress Calls For Hartal

The Tamil Congress has called upon the Tamil-speaking people to stage a hartal on 29 April when the new Parliament building at Kotte Sri Jayawardenepura is ceremonially opened. It has also called upon Tamil speaking MPs to boycott the opening of the new Parliament.

Jaffna Municipality Wants Vacancies Filled

The Jaffna Municipality has unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the Government to fill the Local Government Service vacancies in the Jaffna Municipal Council immediately, as the work of several departments is virtually at a standstill. As an alternative, the resolution wants the Government to empower the Council to make these appointments.

TULF Committee Hears Representations about Kilinochchi

A TULF committee appointed to go into the question of making Kilinochchi a separate administrative district, held its sittings at Kilinochchi on 20 March. About 25 representatives of Rural Development Societies, Women's Societies and other community organisations gave evidence before the committee.

KKS Factory Switches to Coal

The Kankesanthurai Cement Factory which was running on fuel all these days, will switch over to coal from 1 April. This will result in an annual foreign exchange saving of Rs. 110 million and hopefully, a reduction in the price of cement.

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The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has "united" at last—but minus Mr. Maithripala Senanayake and Co. Which means that the SLFP (M) will survive as a separate entity, at least for a time, to pose problems for Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike.

What of Mr. Bandaranaike's repeated assurances that he would not go back without Mr. Senanayake and the others? Ah, but that is politics! However, unless there is a plan to bring them in later, Mr. Bandaranaike's credibility will be at stake in future dealings.

Mrs. Bandaranaike has been accepted as the "undisputed leader," but for how long? The law clearly is against her so that at least during election time—that is, if there are elections—she will have to step down from the pedestal. Then Mr. Bandaranaike takes over?

**Mrs. Ranji
Senanayake**

As I pondered the predicament of the S.L.F.P while it was struggling to be re-born, a number of epigrams came to my mind. Among them—Hell hath no fury than a woman scorned! The female of the species is deadlier than the male! When women fight, menfolk beware! Men forgive and forget, but not women!

For in a sense the fight appeared to be between Mrs. Bandaranaike and Mrs. Chandrika Kumaranatunga on one side and Mrs. Ranji Senanayake on the other.

Neither side would bow down to the other so that whatever was achieved at peace talks was wrecked on the anvil of personal antagonisms.

Sitting uneasily in the storm-centre was the hapless Mr. Senanayake, looking suspiciously at Mr. Bandaranaike (whom some leading figures in both camps, but not Chandrika, wanted to see propelled forward as the new leader).

Mrs. Senanayake always believed—she had every right to hold this belief—that her husband, who was deputy leader in the undivided party, should take over if and when Mrs. Bandaranaike took a back seat.

Mrs. Bandaranaike and her daughter—and now the son also—obviously had other ideas.

However, it would seem too simplistic to have viewed the dissension within the SLFP as stemming entirely from personal animosities. Behind the two wings of the SLFP were ranged certain forces which

were striving to gain control of the main opposition party, which could be the next ruling party.

The interests these forces represented extended to the ideological and the international, with some commentators identifying Chandrika and her supporters as being "pro-Mao" (but not pro-China?), while Mr. Senanayake and some of his supporters have been dubbed "pro-Soviet." Mrs. Bandaranaike and Anura are viewed as "moderates" committed to "nonalignment"!

Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi herself had evinced keen interest in the future of the SLFP, from the little reliable information that trickled out about her recent meeting with Mrs. Bandaranaike. Mrs. Gandhi was obviously concerned about the growing American influence over Sri Lanka under president Jayewardene's dispensation.

Meanwhile pressure was mounting from SLFP supporters throughout the country to end the bickering and get together to face the "common enemy." In the end, this pressure appears to have been strong enough to bring most of the leading SLFPers together for, as Mrs. Bandaranaike herself acknowledged recently, the SLFP is not a "family property."

UNHOLY ACT

The independence of the Judiciary in Sri Lanka has suffered another blow and the fundamental rights of the people have been further eroded with the amendment of the anti-Tiger Act of 1979 on 11th March to empower the Government—and not the courts, as hitherto—to decide where a person alleged to have committed an offence under the Act should be kept in custody.

The Supreme Court, in a habeas corpus application on behalf of some persons detained at the Army Camp at Panagoda, had ruled that once a person was brought to trial he should be in the custody of the courts.

The Government prepared a Bill to amend the Act to nullify the Court's decision. When it was referred to the Court for ruling on its constitutionality, the Court ruled that section 15 A (1), which sought to empower the Minister of Justice to decide on the place of detention—that is, to remove a person from judicial custody to ministerial custody—was "inconsistent" with Article 4C read with Article 3 of the Constitution and must there-

Political Causerie

Mrs. B & Mrs. K vs. Mrs. S? (not to mention Mrs. G in the background!)

by **GAMINI**

fore be passed by a two-thirds majority and approved by the people at a referendum.

However, the Court suggested that it could be passed by amending it to make the ministerial order an administrative one (by the Secretary to the Minister).

The amending Bill, amended as suggested by the Court, was rushed through Parliament on 11th March despite objections from Opposition members that they wanted time to study it.

The point to note is that it makes little real difference whether the order is issued by the Minister or his Secretary; the detenus will be where the Government wants them, at an army camp, at Paget Road or in the Fourth Floor.

The amending Bill also made the Anti-Tigers Act part of the normal and permanent law of the land. Section 29 of the original law which stipulated that it would be in operation for only three years, was repealed. Just like that!

The danger that most people have so far not realised is that the anti-Tigers Act could be used against "terrorists" not only in the North but anywhere in the island. And to a regime determined to hold on to power at all costs—as the UNP appears to be preparing—anybody could be a "terrorist." Even you and me!

OLD AGE NO BAR

Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna leader Mr. Rohana Wijeweera made a very sensible statement at a recent rally when he said that people over 55 years should retire from politics and make way for younger people.

Why 55? This is the age of retirement from the Public Service, fixed on the assumption that a person's mental and physical faculties begin to deteriorate rapidly thereafter making him unfit for strenuous and responsible work.

But in the case of politicians, their hidden talents seem to blossom out only after 55. How many of our politicians are retired bureaucrats, some

of them blundering through now as they did while in service? How many of the others are also over 55, some approaching the age of extreme senility?

Some of our politicians boast of the many years they have spent in serving the country. I say that those who claim to have served the longest should bear the biggest share of the blame for the mess that Sri Lanka finds itself in today. Bravo Mr. Wijeweera!

SECRET PACT?

What is the TULF leadership up to? Is it again planning to collaborate with the UNP, as it did in the pre-1977 era? It is well to remember that secret understandings and pacts have a tendency to surface sooner than expected. Anyway, what can the Tamil people expect from such an accord, judging by what has happened since 1977.

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If I come to Power... Mrs. B

(Continued from page 1)

be brought on, whether it should be extended. We had to go to the cabinet. Cabinet had to approve. If the cabinet disapproved, I could not have done it. What about the Parliament? It also approved it. So, I wasn't alone. And why should I alone be penalised? Things went wrong. Things are going wrong even now. Corruption. Now it is 100 per cent more than what it was during my time.

Q. Do you think the election may be put off?

A. They might even have it early. Things are getting hot. The longer they wait the more difficult it's going to be for the UNP. Things are not going to improve. If they want to postpone they have to go for a referendum or change the constitution.

Q. Assuming that efforts to unite your party succeed, how would you rate the chances of your victory in the coming election?

A. As it is, my party's chances are good. If both the factions unite, they'll still be better.

Q. Do you think the SLFP will be able to win the election on its own or will you fight in collaboration with other parties?

A. I think we can win on our own. The other parties are in shambles. There is a clamour that we should all get together. All the left parties are small groups now, already some of them are with us on the same platform on common issues. So we are having discussions with some of them.

Q. Do you approve of the presidential form of government in your country?

A. Not in this form.

Q. If you come to power, will you change it?

A. Yes, we have already appointed a committee. They are going through the constitution. If I come into power it's the first thing I'm going to do something about.

Q. We heard in Colombo that UNP is doing its best to keep the SLFP factions

apart because they stand to lose if you come together?

A. They fear that. There's no doubt this is a plot of the UNP to create the split. They have got hold of a few people who are opposed to me. There was a conspiracy to disenfranchise me. Once I was disenfranchised, they thought I would leave politics. But that didn't happen. That made me stronger to stick on and fight them back. I am not the one who runs away from defeat. I have nothing to lose if I remain in politics. I have lost everything and I have nothing further to lose. I will fight back. I will carry on with my fight.

Q. Does your son realise that he should join hands with you?

A. I think he has realised it. He's a Bandaranaike, so he's a little proud and doesn't want to admit it. It was a part of Jayawardene's plot to use my son to destroy me. The idea is that in the process of destroying me, my son too gets destroyed. Initially the boy fell for it, but I think he now realises the implications of their scheming.

Q. There is a lot of "speculation" in your country about your current visit to India?

A. I have been wanting to come to India for some time. I wanted to come last October. But Mrs Gandhi was busy with Cancun and so on. They said I could come in December. December is too cold for me here. That's why I came in February. I went on a pilgrimage. Spent one week in that area, saw a lot of your countryside and came here and am now going back. The papers in Sri Lanka wrote some nonsense saying that my son Anura is coming here and that Mrs Gandhi is going to settle our problem. She has got enough problems without bothering about ours. Our problem is like a drop in the ocean compared to what she is having.

Q. What do you think of Jayawardene as a politician?

A. A shrewd politician, a He says one thing but means something entirely different. We can't depend on what he says.

Q. How do you rate his abilities as an administrator?

A. When he came into power, I thought at least under Jaya something will happen, things will move. He has been a senior politician. I'm a novice in politics compared to him. He understood the country's problems and we thought he would be able to put things right. But they have gone from bad to worse. Corruption is unbelievable. Even his party people complain about it. Bribery, nothing can be done without bribing somebody or other. Our fellows also took bribes, I suppose. They took a few thousand. The UNP chaps deal in millions. Our men are angels compared to his.

Q. Where do you think he went wrong?

A.He allowed his ministers to go around the world as they wanted and do what they liked. Appointments were made without due regard to qualifications. UNP supporters got jobs without qualifications. Contracts were given without calling for tenders. All this led to corruption. The other day one of his men was complaining to me about this. I said to him, "Why don't you tell your boss?" The man said it was no use because the boss would say, "Show me the proof!"

Q. If you come to power, what would you do to set things right in your country?

A. First the constitution. The election law is very complicated and it's not working. Under the present law our members of parliament are not responsible to their electorate! We have to consider changing the election law. Inflation rate is 30 to 40 per cent. The cost of living is going up everyday. The administration is almost at a standstill. Either ministers are out of the country, or if they are in the country they are loafing around. They are hardly in their offices. There is no proper supervision. Since the minister is not there, his secretary goes; so everybody goes. As a result, the work is at a standstill in the ministries. Every day five to six ministers go out of the country. Each one of them is accompanied by several people. So they are just wasting the country's money, precious foreign exchange. The food



problem is grave. We have to get back to our policy of aiming at self-sufficiency. That has to be our priority. I have just been to Haryana to see what's happening in agriculture. Sri Lanka's industry too should be agro-based. We don't want our country polluted like Japan.

We may have to consider some of the things this government has done which cannot be changed. Like, for instance, the free trade zone. It's a reality now. The government has spent a lot of money to create infrastructure. If we close it down several hundred families will suffer. The president told Japanese investors, "we are offering you concessions and privileges which no other government in the world is giving you." We are not prepared to agree to that. We have appointed various committees to work on various aspects. We shall make our position clear in our manifesto.

Q. What is your attitude to the Eelam demand of the Tamils?

A. We can't agree to that. We have said that in no uncertain terms.

Q. But do you think the Tamils have genuine grievances?

A. Well they have some, not as many as they try to make out. The vast majority of Tamils voted for the UNP. I suppose they expected a lot from Jayawardene. They thought I was a horror. Now they say "at least with Mrs. Bandaranaike, we knew where we stood: with Jayawardene we don't know where we stand".

Q. How will you solve the Tamil problem?

A. It is a big problem because it has been aggravated since this government came to power. The Tiger movement is no doubt serious.

I think the TULF is losing control of it. All their youngsters are getting desperate. We have to give this a lot of thought. We have to have discussions with the TULF. I think funds are not available to develop the area. Things are changing almost daily. Each time they go and shoot a soldier or a police constable in Jaffna, the Sinhala civilians get upset. It's not going to be easy but I think we can find a solution, provided we are able to create the correct atmosphere. That is important. Without trust you can't do anything. The Sinhalese are the majority. Whatever we do should not upset the Sinhalese.

Q. If the Bandaranaike and Chelvanayakam agreement had been implemented, there would not have been a Tamil problem. Why wasn't it done?

A. Jayawardene and his party were opposed to it. He is responsible for this.

Q. The Tamils, the Indian Tamils in particular, are feeling very insecure in your country. The riots of last August in the plantation areas really shook them.

A. I can proudly say that during my government there were never any riots. We had a little problem but we tackled it by handling their leaders who kept it down. There never was any trouble in the plantation areas during my time.

Q. You have been disenfranchised and if you canvass for any candidates of your party and if they win, they will be disqualified according to the present law. Will this prevent you from campaigning for your candidates?

A. I can't campaign for my candidates. That's why I am going round the country telling people that I won't be able to come at election time and that they should vote for whoever we put up.

What would happen if a supernova from Bombay was on a course of collision with a quasar from Madras? The big bang would be too terrible to contemplate. Fortunately for us and for the formulas named after the two cities, what was expected to be a grim intergalactic melodrama has ended happily and, after the fall of the curtain, there stands Sivaji Ganesan (instead of Amitabh Bachchan) to be applauded by hysterical crowds. From Madras he goes to Delhi, which seems, several light years away, to be an ornament of the Rajya Sabha. Ganesan adorns anything he touches; indeed he is an adornment himself, being NATIKAR THILAKAM, the auspicious mark on the collective forehead of actors, their head jewel so to speak.

REAL LIFE HERO.

Even on the screen it is a stagy appearance that Sivaji Ganesan makes, proclaiming his presence in an unmistakable stance, and the audience screams in adulatory excitement as he enters. For this man of many celluloid parts is a hero in real life. Whether he plays lover, brother, father or freedom fighter, his own personality intrudes (or should we say obtrudes). To millions of Tamilians the freedom fighter Kattabomman (wasn't he Telugu-speaking?) is not Kattabomman but Sivaji Ganesan himself and V. O. Chidambaram, the "Tamilian who launched (or sailed) a ship" (KAPPALOTIYA TAMILZHAN), is not V.O.C. but S.G.

Sivaji
and M. G. R.

Sivaji is not remote like the great machos of the Hindi screen. He is unromantically roly-poly and ordinary-looking like one of those efficient, betel-chewing secretaries working for an old British firm. But his very ordinariness endears him to Tamilians. He is the lover next door who can be trusted; he is the brother long lost whom you have been looking for; he is the do-gooder with all the virtues listed in the copybook.

The only other actor equally popular is M. G. Ramachandran. But they are entirely different in temperament, though in the tawdry make-up of films they tend to resemble each other. The one has been the foil to the other and their love-hate relationship provides a footnote to both the politics of Tamil Nadu and the film industry. The two have dominated Tamil cinema for nearly a generation, like men

Tamil Superstar goes to the Rajya Sabha

blown up on hoardings on Anna Salai or Cathedral Road. They are like characters from a modern purana, a contradiction in terms, but both Tamil cinema and Tamil Nadu politics are full of contradictions.

M. G. R., the PURATCHI NATIKAR (revolutionary actor), is a fencer and stuntster and rescuer of damsels in distress and in other predicaments. Sivaji Ganesan, it is widely believed, is a better actor than the chief minister. Indeed he acts so much that his critics say he overacts. He rants and raves as if he has a built-in megaphone. (Tamil films are generally loud as if they were specially made for audiences hard of hearing).

His face, his body contorts in many ramifications of his personality. Altogether he gives an impression of richness, of excess, of a profligacy of histrionic talent. He tries to live his part, he tries very hard to live

his part. Sivaji is a great emoter, a marvellous enactor rather than actor, of a myriad emotions and moods. This writer thinks that in the hands of an imaginative director Sivaji Ganesan would have risen to great heights as an artist. Unfortunately Tamil cinema is hammy in all departments (though less mindless than its Hindi counterpart) and directors have hands like sledge-hammers.

V. C. Ganesan ran away from home when he was seven years old to join one of those "boys companies" that staged Tamil plays. He earned the name "Sivaji" for playing the Maratha hero in a Tamil play. His first film was *Parasakti* for which the dialogue was by Karunanidhi. He was at first, a follower of Periyar Ramasami Naicker and was inspired by the Dravidian movement. Later, like M.G.R., he became a supporter of the D. M. K. The parting came after a visit



Sivaji Ganesan as seen by Times of India cartoonist R. K. Laxman

to Tirupati when he turned to God and religion. He also turned to Kamaraj from Anna. The conversion gave rise to much bitterness.

MAJESTIC SPEAKER

Sivaji Ganesan, who has acted in nearly 200 films, represents more than film power. He has a large place in the affections of the Tamil people and the Congress (I) cannot ignore him. Like M. G. R. he is loved for his munificence and there are few men in the film industry with his charm, a charm that has nothing to

do with celluloid glamour. One hopes he will speak often in the Rajya Sabha. There are Northerners who make fun of Tamil. They must listen to Sivaji Ganesan speak that hoary language. All the beauty, music and glory of Tamil come alive on his lips. One would prefer to be dumb before such majesty of tongue.

QUARK. (COURTESY
"THE TIMES OF INDIA")
7-3-82.

LETTERS

Dept. of History,
University of Jaffna.
20-03-82

Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.

Sir,

While thanking you for publishing my article in your esteemed journal, I wish to point out that by changing my title 'Archaeological Sites Unveil the History of Jaffna' to 'Prehistoric Settlements in Jaffna', there is room for certain misgivings to arise in the minds of scholars. I shall therefore thank you to publish this correction.

Yours truly,
P. Ragupathy.

111, Pickerings Road,
Colombo-13.

Sir,

In your Editorial of 13-3-82 under the heading "The problems of leadership" you have analysed one of the most important and urgent problems of the Tamils in our country today.

A leader's qualities, whatever they may be, are not and cannot be different from those of the people whose leader he is. In fact, it is the qualities of the people that are reflected in the leader.

A Churchill could not have led the Indian people; and a Mahatma Gandhi could not have led the English people.

There is a saying in Tamil, if the water level in the pond rises the lotus flower in it will also rise up with the water.

The flower which has shorter stem will not rise up with the water and will get submerged in the water. The flower which has a longer stem will rise up with the level of the water. But, however longer the stem of a flower may be, it cannot rise up too high above the level of the water. So are the leaders.



As far as Mr. Amirthalingam is concerned, within a short period of his assuming the

leadership, he had biggest problem of an unprecedented race riots to face. Apart from that, from the time he became the leader, not only his opponents, but those who earlier were willing to accept his leadership if they were given what they wanted or if they were rewarded in one way or another, and also some of the very same persons who urged him and supported him to take up the leadership, have been placing obstacles in his path and pulling him from behind.

No people after selecting a captain of a team shall keep on giving instruction to him when he is in the field. No driver of a vehicle can drive it safely if the persons who had engaged him start giving him instructions and giving out signals, sometimes contradictory signals.

Arul M. Rajendran

From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

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

(Continued from the
last issue)

The point I wish to bring out is this. The Indian immigrants continue to be citizens of India and receive protection from the Indian Government. It is too much for these immigrants to ask the right to influence the local Government, when they are receiving special privileges as citizens of another. What did we do in Ceylon? We, at least the Ceylon Government—that is a Government not influenced so much by the representatives of the people—considered these people as Indian subjects and decided in the first instance to exempt them from the liability to pay poll tax, a tax which every man in Ceylon had to pay. Even after the poll tax was abolished in this Island the people had to pay the Gansabhawa tax from which too the Indians were exempt. The local Government thought that the Indians must be treated differently from the people of the country. The local Government went to a further extent when they said that the Indian cooly should not have a vote in the case of local option and that estate taverns should be established or closed at the will and pleasure of the planting community. That shows that there is differentiation. But to-day, when we say that only people who are domiciled in Ceylon should come into the vote, we are told that the wicked Sinhalese want to govern Ceylon and therefore they object to the enfranchisement of the Indian cooly. They forget that it was the Imperial Government and the Indian Government who differentiated. They forget that the Ceylon Government did not recognize the Indian coolies as Ceylonese citizens. And yet all the blame is put on the people of Ceylon, on the Sinhalese.

With regard to the accusation that has been made against the Sinhalese, I may say this much. We happen to be a major community, and there happen to be about three million Sinhalese in Ceylon. I feel certain that whether we have ten votes or twelve votes here, it is the voice of three millions that speaks, and I certainly think that that should count with the British Government.

I can say that when we wanted reforms we wanted them because we felt that the prosperity of the country

could be best advanced by the influence of the people of the country. We did not want to take away the Government of the country out of the hands of able administrators like the English and hand it over to the Indians, or to anyone else. We want the people who are here to have an opportunity of influencing the Government, and that is what we are asking for. We do not want to transfer power from the hands of the Englishmen to the hands of the Indians.

"Not every Sinhalese will be a traitor"

I have explained what we wanted. I do not consider that it is a satisfactory state of affairs or an improvement on the present state to have, not the people of the country or Britishers, but people who are not Ceylonese, who have no permanent interest in the country, and who are in Ceylon temporarily only, exercising a voice and an influence in the Government of the country.

We would welcome the
Indian, but not give him
the vote—D. S. Senanayake

Coming to some of my honourable friends, Sir, I say that it is rather unfortunate that just at this time when there are to be further reforms, when responsibility is to be given to the people—at this time when there should be a better understanding and better feelings among all the people of the Island—there should be this combine against the Sinhalese. I feel that that feeling, although it has been expressed by certain Honourable Members in this Council, is not shared by the communities they represent. They were doing an injustice to us. I can tell those honourable gentlemen we, the Sinhalese, will make an attempt to live. We will try to exist. It is not every Sinhalese who will be a traitor to his country for the sake of a seat in the

the First FRANCHISE debate

Council or for the sake of the 10-cent bits of the Indian labourers. We feel the position very strongly.

We have been under a Government that has given every opportunity to the people to advance. We have had opportunities, but unfortunately, the officials administering the Government not being in close touch with us, the result has not been what we wished it to be. We know the country has prospered greatly, but we feel that that prosperity has come from outside and not from within. That some of us have shared in that prosperity I admit. But there are a large number of people who have not shared in that prosperity and who are suffering greatly.

was thirty years ago. But the people of the district itself have not shared in the prosperity.

I can say that that condition of affairs exists all over the land, especially in the Kandyan districts. The people in the low-country are fortunate, and, I believe, owing to the policies adopted by Government, we have even benefited by the backwardness of the Kandyan people. But merely because we or someone else have had that advantage, it is no reason why we should not give the Kandyans an opportunity even now of establishing themselves in their own districts.

I can tell you at once, Sir, that we do not desire to

as free people, and if they settle in the country and want to become a part of the permanent population, it would be a different matter. But they come here with the assistance given by the Government with the money collected from the people.

We were told that if any one of us went to England it would not be difficult for him to get the vote. But I wonder what the people of England will say if every year hundreds of thousands of people were recruited from abroad into England. They will have a different story to tell.



D. S. SENANAYAKE

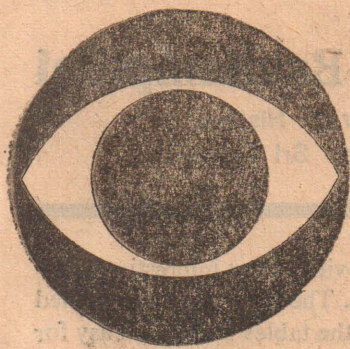
It was not long ago, Sir, that a gentleman from the Kandyan Provinces came before the Land Commission and gave evidence. He is a person from Gampola, and he described to the Land Commission the condition of eleven villages round about Gampola. He showed us that thirty years ago the inhabitants of those eleven villages numbered 3,000, but to-day they number only 2,900: the population has not increased. He also showed us that during the last thirty years not a single inch of additional land has been cultivated. There has been no increase of population there, nor has the wealth of the people increased, although no one will deny that Gampola is much more prosperous to-day than it

exclude the Indian at all: we do not want to exclude the Indian who is domiciled in Ceylon. If a person came from India and wanted to settle down in Ceylon, we would welcome him, although I should say, we would be justified in refusing to admit him into the electorate.

I say we would be justified in refusing to admit him into the electorate for this reason. A large number of these people who come from India—I am speaking of the immigrant labour population—do not come of their own freewill. The people of the country are taxed. I mean, estate owners are taxed, and these immigrant labourers are brought over to Ceylon at the expense of the State, and they live here as Indian citizens. If they come here

We feel that it is necessary that the European should be here, and that the Indian should be here; they have contributed to the prosperity of the country, and we would like them to continue to enjoy the advantages of this country. But I would ask my friends to think not only of their own interests, but of ours as well. I say to them "Live and let live." Give us an opportunity to live in this country. We have no antagonistic feelings towards the Indian. We sympathize with them perhaps more than we sympathize with other people. We realize that they and we have not the whole world open to us.

(To be continued)



Foreign View

People interested in the welfare of Sri Lanka express their regret that the country's diversities of race, creed and language, instead of contributing to prosperity are leading to fratricidal destruction. On far too many occasions these divergences have caused needless bloodshed.

Sinhala-Tamil relations, a national issue, impinge on Tamil grievances in a variety of areas—language, education, colonisation and employment.

Tamil leaders recall that before going to the polls in 1977, the United National Party publicly conceded that the Tamil-speaking people suffered numerous disabilities driving them to support an ill-advised moment for the creation of a separate Eelam. In fact, the party's election manifesto pledged to find a solution to these problems. But after UNP came to power in 1977, one of the worst forms of violence was witnessed in the North. The party is still to implement the manifesto in its entirety, complain the Tamil leaders.

Worsening situation

In the post-Independence period, the demands of the political parties representing the Tamils starting from a 50-50 sharing of power led to a demand for a separate State. While the demand for separation was being made perhaps with not much seriousness, observers note that the situation has deteriorated in all the areas of Tamil grievances—land colonisation, education, employment and language. These grievances have given rise to the Sinhala-Tamil friction.

The Tamils contend that the State policies in each of these areas had discriminated against them. Land colonisation had been a part of the development strategy of all governments. In this process, the population composition of these areas has been tilted by increasing Sinhala strength in the overwhelmingly Tamil areas. Schemes such as Gal Oya have completely changed

the population characteristics of Muttur and Trincomalee, according to Mr. Sampanthan, Member of Parliament from that area.

Sinhalese induction

The Tamils are wary of attempts to industrialise their areas with foreign money. They fear that this is used as an instrument to get outside Sinhalese, provide them jobs, and settle them driving away the Tamils from their traditional homes. The instance of a flour mill in Trincomalee, set up with huge foreign funds is cited to show that the local population is denied jobs in these new industries and Sinhalese from outside are recruited for up to 80 per cent of the vacancies.

appointments in Sri Lanka. Sinhalese with their access to power centres naturally stand better chances. This particularly hits Tamils from a poorer socio-economic background.

The Sinhalese argue that Tamils are better represented in the State services in comparison to their population strength. This does not appear to be true at least in the higher administrative services. In the professional fields (accounting, engineering and medicine) Tamils are still seen in large numbers.

The District Development Council scheme initiated by the UNP Government is regarded by some as a step towards redressing the Tamils'

dhist faith, though freedom of religion is guaranteed.

While talking to common Sinhalese, one cannot fail to notice their sense of inferiority: they are worried that in South Asia they are outnumbered by Tamils by six to one. Both the Sinhalese parties are strong advocates of Sinhala Buddhist pre-dominance.

The Tamils want their demand for separation to be understood in the above background. They draw attention to the Sri Lanka communist Party's recognition of the right of self-determination for the Tamils. They also mention the frequently recurring violence against them.

Violence in Sri Lanka resulting from racial conflict

napura and Negombo near Colombo. Before the Government could bring the situation under control, at least 10 Indian Tamils had been killed, many Tamil shops and businesses burnt, and more than 5,000 Tamils fled to refugee camps.

Even the President of Sri Lanka went on record saying that the arson, looting and killing appeared to have been the work of organised gangs. One new element was the concentration of the violence against the Indian estate Tamils and this in a way internationalised the conflict. In fact, the Indian President's planned visit to Sri Lanka was called off as a reaction to this outrage.

Disturbing

Violence by police or armed forces a disturbing phenomenon, it was claimed, was in retaliation against the political or terrorist attack on them by the Tamil youth.

According to Tamil sources a large group of policemen went on a rampage on the nights of May 31-June 1 and June 1-June 2, burning a market area of Jaffna, offices of a Tamil newspaper, the home of Mr. V. Yogeswaran, MP for Jaffna and the Jaffna Public Library. The destruction of the library appeared to have caused the greatest distress to the people.

The Government was deeply concerned about this terrorism. It applied the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and detained incommunicado 27 youths. The arrests followed a bank robbery in which two policemen were killed, an outrage attributed to an extremist group. A one-number team from the International Commission of Jurists came to the Island and investigated complaints of torture of the detained youth. Thus far, no Tamil youth appears to have been convicted of terrorist offences. But the complaint is heard frequently that the Tamil population has not assisted the Government in apprehending the terrorists.

Prof. Virginia A. Leary, Faculty of Law and Jurisprudence, State University of New York at Buffalo, U.S., constituting the ICJ Team, would like the Sri Lanka Government to ratify the convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination for strengthening its commitment and the commitment of the majority community to policies of racial justice and equality. This Convention has been ratified by over 100 countries including the majority of the developing countries.

(Continued over leaf)

Ethnic strife and senseless violence

Sri Lanka revisited — Part 3 (Hindu)

by S. PARTHASARATHY

The Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act making Tamil a national language has not made any difference to their hardship in their daily life. All communications are still in the official language (Sinhala) they complain. Although there are legal provisions for the use of Tamil for administrative purposes, in the Eastern and Northern Provinces, steps have not been taken to make it a reality, say the Tamils.

In the area of education, the result of the scheme of standardisation of marks was the admission of a large number of Sinhalese in the science faculties at their expense, the Tamils point out. The district quota system provides advantages to Sinhala students from privileged families. A cut down on welfare measures would make it more difficult to expand facilities in higher education. Rather than establishing an adequate base to facilitate the expansion of education to the two communities, the present trend seems to be in favour of greater discrimination and disparity not only on ethnic but also class basis.

Political leverage

Political patronage has become a deciding factor in

grievances. After decades of boycott of major national activities by the Tamil community, the Tamil United Liberation Front decided—even against the wishes of the powerful rank and file—to support the scheme and this is applauded by the sober elements in the country's politics as a wise step. But the Tamils are deeply distrustful of the leaders of the majority community and think that no scheme would be allowed to be genuinely implemented by the Sinhalese and no assurances would be fulfilled.

The Sinhalese look upon from the historic angle the Tamils as interlopers and invaders (no matter how many thousands of years they have lived there) infringing on Sinhalese territory. Sinhalese myths and legends speak of the triumph of Sinhalese kings over Tamil rulers.

Mixing up religion

The identification of Buddhist religion with Sinhalese nationalism is an important element in understanding the roots of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The Constitution gives the foremost place to Buddhism and pledges to protect and foster the Bud-

has been of three types—communal, political or terrorist, and violence by security forces. During 1981 all the three types were present to a serious degree.

Communal violence

Communal violence first appeared in 1958, 10 years after Independence, when hundreds of persons, particularly Tamils, were killed and thousands of Tamil refugees were relocated from Sinhalese to Tamil areas. The next major outbreak of violence occurred in 1977.

From the Tamil point of view, the terrorist violence of the Tamil youths and the demand for separation are a consequence of growing discrimination against them. The TULF leaders, however, made it clear that they disapproved of terrorist violence by their youth as well as the other two types of violence.

In August 1981, the third major outbreak of communal violence took place after tension for five months between the ethnic groups because of terrorist attacks against the police in the North.

Violence occurred in places as far apart as Ampara, Rat-

People of the Maldivive Islands

Books on the Maldivive Islands are very scarce, and it is really welcome to have Dr. Clarence Maloney's study, which is the only scholarly, investigative, and comprehensive work published after the work of H. C. P. Bell, which appeared years ago, in 1940.

Dr. Maloney's research has led him to conclusions which, indeed, are interesting and illuminating though often provocative. The assertion that the original sub-stratum of the population combined Dravidian speaking peoples, the close connection shown between Kerala and the Maldives, and the advancement of the finding that Hinduism underlay Buddhism are certainly fresh contributions to the little that is known of the Maldives, but they are also likely to stimulate further scrutiny and discussions as they are so startling in their revelations.

LINKS WITH SRI LANKA

However, Dr. Maloney's findings are based on sedulous research and enquiry; language, place names, poetry and dance forms, the kinship system are but few of the aspects which the author has closely analysed to support his views.

The author demonstrates the relationship between the myths pertaining to origin in the Maldives with those



Author Maloney

People of the Maldivive Islands
by Clarence Maloney
(Orient Longman Ltd.,
New Delhi, 1980) pp. 441.
Maps, Illustrations, Tables,
Appendix, Bibliography &
Index.

among the Sinhalese and has also traced the reference in early Buddhist literature to the islands. Thus he has explained the links between the Maldives and Sri Lanka in early times.

Among the other noteworthy views advanced by the author, after painstaking and patient study, are those on traditional counting with twelve as base number, and how Islam, during a period of eight centuries, has influenced the Maldivian social ideals and system, the political

system and the behavioural rules in society.

The reader finds the section dealing with the Maldivian Magico-religious system quite intriguing and fascinating in a Muslim society, and because of the vital role this system plays among the peoples. Likewise, the writer has traced convincingly and skilfully the evolution of an earlier caste system into a highly politicised traditional class system which has been adapted to suit a society that has and is being quickly modernised.

HIGH DIVORCE RATE

The unusually high divorce rate strikes the reader as a rather singular phenomenon, but Dr. Maloney affords a clear analysis illustrating how this divorce rate subserves some real needs arising from the Maldivian settlement pattern and the political and social system. Among the problems confronting modern Maldives is rapid population increase and density. The influx in recent times of foreign money, new elite symbols and tourism, according to the author, poses to the Maldives a strain which weighs heavily on an old cultural system. Modernism has certainly come to Maldives with a bang!

A good portion of the book is devoted to cultural history. It is in this section that Dr. Maloney puts across such new interpretation. The author has advanced arguments for correcting earlier conclusions which, in the light of new investigation and analysis by Maloney, were wrong. However, these new views are bound to invite further scrutiny, which would indeed be salutary; and to controversies which, in the academic area, would be stimulating.

a review

by **Prof. B.E.S.J. Bastiampillai**

Associate Professor in History,
University of Colombo, Sri Lanka.

His study of contemporary culture, the politics, society, religion, kinship and behaviour is a result of intelligent exploration, patient and painstaking enquiry, and perceptive observation under really difficult and challenging conditions. Travel is wearisome, the people not so receptive and articulate and the society is strongly conservative and bound by rigid Islamic ideals. It redounds to the credit of the author that he was able to establish rapport, gain much little known data and successfully carry out field research, and put forward many new conclusions.

The book carries useful maps and some excellent photographs. Throughout, the study is documented, and the appendix dealing with the early foreign notices of the Maldives,

provides very interesting reading. The information supplied in the tables makes it easy for a reader to understand so much which otherwise would have been quite incomprehensible. The bibliography is certainly valuable for future researchers and students, and is a contribution.

Although a scholarly piece of work, this book would not only be useful to students and academics but also to the general reader especially because it is written in a readable and intelligible style on an area which has been so much ignored. Dr. Maloney's study is bound to become a standard work on the Maldives; his book definitely merits the attention of the scholar, student and the general reader.

Ethnic strife...

(Continued from page 7)

In the view of the ICJ, physical security of the minority Tamils must be ensured and there should be no recurrence of communal violence, so frequently directed against the Tamils, if peace is to return to the island. The army and the police should be strictly controlled.

The Commission also feels the Terrorism Act with its draconian provisions is objectionable from the point of view of human rights as well as from the angle of ineffectiveness and it should not be reenacted when its period of validity expires.

to the Tamil problems, the prospects for the progress of the country would be bright.

The dialogue now going on between the Tamils and the Government where all Tamil grievances are discussed, is considered a step in the right direction. The President seems to be taking a personal interest in the talks.

There are also suggestions that the UNP should rid itself of violently communal anti-Tamil members as this is a pre-requisite for the successful conclusion of the dialogue now going on between the Government and TULF.

(Concluded)

Colonisation

Well-wishers of Sri Lanka want the Government to give renewed attention to the Tamil concern over government aided colonisation schemes under which large numbers of outside Sinhalese are brought in to change the ethnic composition of the area. They also feel that the Government should continue and expand the policy of decentralisation giving Tamils far greater roles in administration in their areas.

Mr. A. Amirthalingam, TULF leader, told this Correspondent, that if the District Development Council scheme was properly implemented and requisite funds provided and the Sinhalese majority genuinely desired a solution

Forms in Jaffna office are in Sinhala only

Principals and teachers in Jaffna complain that all forms available at the Jaffna Education Office are in Sinhala Only: this compels them to run around looking for persons with a knowledge of Sinhala to help them fill the forms. They have urged the Director General of Education to see that Tamil forms are made available.

Ask for

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Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama

I want to say on this Motion that it is very unfair for the Government to bring an amendment like this to an Act and ask that the Amendment be proceeded with today. We have not seen this Amendment. This Amendment directly relates to a judgment of the Supreme Court, delivered a few months ago. We have to read this Amendment and the judgment of the Supreme Court and see how they interact with each other and what effects the Bill has on the main enactment. So I would earnestly appeal to the Hon. Minister to take a non-partisan view of this matter. This is a serious matter. The liberty of the subject is involved in this matter. Therefore, please allow us time to go through these provisions properly, to study the Supreme Court judgment, and to see what effect they have on the main enactment. Thereafter this Bill can be debated. I am earnestly appealing to the Hon. Minister that this be done.

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Sir, Hon. Member for Kalawana is opposing this Motion. There is a reason for that. As the Hon. Member for Kalawana said, this is a direct consequence of a Supreme Court judgment on a very vital matter affecting the fundamental rights that are written into the Constitution.

Now this Bill itself has gone to the Supreme Court. As a matter of fact, the ruling of the Constitutional Court is that, as the Bill stands today, it is an infringement of the Constitution, and can be passed only by a two-thirds majority and at a referendum. That is the ruling of the Supreme Court: that the Bill as it stands today has to be passed by a two-thirds majority and at a referendum. Of course, some way out has been suggested. Whether the Hon. Minister is going to accept that we do not know; but the question arises as to whether even the way out is constitutional. We have not studied this Amendment. We do not know what the judgment of the Constitutional Court is. We do not know what the judgment of the other Court is. Surely, Sir, what is the urgency for this Bill? Why cannot we discuss this Bill next week? I do object, Sir.

Sir, even the last Bill, even the main enactment was rushed in this way. Even the main Prevention of Terrorism Bill was rushed in this way. So let us have time to study, let us know what the provisions are, and see how they conflict with the

That terrorism Act Amendment Bill

Constitution. Let us consider all these matters and have the discussion either tomorrow or some time next week.

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

At least tomorrow.

(A Member)

Murders are being committed.

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Murders are being committed everywhere — even in your electorate. Do not talk about murders....

going to be in the custody on the orders of the Minister or the Secretary, not in remand jail but somewhere else.

"Now where are these detenus being kept today, Mr. Speaker? They are being kept in the Army Cantonment of Panagoda. That is where all these detenus are being kept. Now, Mr. Speaker, let us assume a case where you have gone to Court, and on instructions of the man we are challenging the confession. That means we are alleging that the Police and the Armed

prison or in jail. That is the reason why they brought that judgment and now you are seeking to amend it. The Court of Appeal in this habeas corpus application has come to the definite conclusion that at least in the case of two people there had been violence used, there had been some torture used. In the case of two people at least they have come to the conclusion that violence had been used. What is the use of your having fundamental rights in the constitution against torture when the Court of Appeal says that torture has been used in the case of two people and you are bringing amendments in this House that you must give them back to that custody? That is what you are doing....

"Mr. Speaker, His Excellency the President, in repealing the Criminal Justice Commission Act, had said a lot of very encouraging words. He spoke of Paget Road, the Fourth Floor and all those things, and said that those things will never be repeated as long as he was in charge of the Government. This is what he said:

"There are legitimate and recognised police stations, there are legitimate and recognised prisons and jails under this law, that is, under the Criminal Justice Commission Act which was repealed, under which law the Minister can declare any place to be jail, he can declare Paget Road to be a jail, the Fourth Floor to be a Police Station. All such powers will be done away with once you have passed this Bill."

"What did you do? You have made the Elephant Pass Rest House a jail. Elephant Pass Rest House

is the new jail where you detain these people. It is a very convenient place, Mr. Speaker. I do not know how many of you have gone to Elephant Pass Rest House. It is a very convenient place, miles away from habitation. (Interruption)..... Lots of people who want to have a secret honeymoon go to that Rest House.

"There is an upstairs. So, anything done in the upstairs is not known downstairs. That is what happens. It is a very well chosen place. Anything done upstairs is not known downstairs. So, each of the detenus is taken there, softened up, and the people downstairs do not know anything. Then they take turns and this goes on Mr. Speaker, they are also conveniently saltwatered near the Elephant Pass Rest-house. After a little softening up they are dipped in the salt water bath and are brought back. Now, under the Amendment even if the person is charged in Court, you are giving his custody back to those people.

"Sir, I must mention on the floor of this House some of the methods that are being used in the Army Camp at Panagoda. From 8-30 in the night while a man is asleep, he is hand-cuffed till the early hours of the morning. Five of these detenus are in solitary confinement, till they are removed out of the cell for only half an hour a day. They are asked to wash the lavatories used by them, but the lavatories used by the officers and men of the Cantonment at Panagoda are washed by these boys, and the excuse given is, "We cannot let outsiders come in. Therefore, lavatory coolies cannot come in. So, you must wash the lavatories".

IN PARLIAMENT

The national press as a whole failed the people again by not giving adequate coverage to the proceedings in Parliament on 11th March when an important Bill affecting the fundamental rights of the people was rushed through. Not that the Press could have done anything about the Bill—even the Supreme Court could not prevent the Government having its way—but fuller reports would at least have alerted the people to the full implications of the Government's action. In the national interest, "Saturday Review" is publishing below excerpts from the Hansard presenting the Opposition point of view. (The Government has enough media at its command to present its case).

The Bill was an amendment to the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act enacted in July 1977 — "temporary" because it was to be in force for only three years.

At the outset, the Speaker, Mr. Bakeer Markar announced that the Supreme Court had ruled

"that Section 15A (1) of the Bill is inconsistent with the provisions of Article 4C read with Article 3 of the Constitution and must therefore be passed by a 2/3rd majority and approved by the People at a Referendum as provided in Article 83 of the Constitution."

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

".....Now, Sir, what is the meaning of the independence of the judiciary if you at every turn come here and with your two-thirds majority change the law that has been laid down by the Supreme Court? Is that your respect for the independence of the 'judiciary'? Does the independence of the judiciary mean that the Supreme Court can pass any judgment, and that we can come here and change it by a two-thirds majority? Is that your respect for the independence of the judiciary? Here is a judgment, a considered judgment, of the Supreme Court. Why is it that you are trying to change that?

"Now, under your amendment, after a man is charged in Court and during the course of the trial, he is

Services had been ill-treating that person. Now, Sir, imagine a situation where on a particular day I challenge in Court that the Armed Services had ill-treated that man and you are sending the man to the same custody. That is the seriousness of the situation, Mr. Speaker, that while the trial is going on we are going to allege that there has been ill-treatment by the Armed Services and the Police. We will seek to prove it. What are you doing? While the trial lasts you are sending the man back to the custody of persons against whom allegations have been made.

"That is why we object, Sir. That is why the Supreme Court held that once a man has been charged you must take him away from the custody of the executive and put him in the custody of the judges either in a remand

Human Rights groups in Europe protest

Representatives of European Human Rights, Political and Religious organisations, who met in Kassel, West Germany on the 12th, 13th and 14th March condemned the harassment of the workers of the Grndhiyam Society in Vavuniya, including its organizing Secretary, Dr.S. Rajasundaram by the Police and the Army.

Representatives of various organizations from all over

Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands and England took part in this conference which discussed the problems of the Tea Estate workers and Tamils in Sri Lanka.

A special committee has been set up to study the situation in Vavuniya and make representations to President J. R. Jeyawardena.

Ancient Tamil settlements in Pathi (Padawiya)

(Continued
from last issue)

by Rev. Dr. D. J. Kanagaratnam

Because of the great sanctity of the place, "Pathi" became "Tiruppathi" or Sri Pathi and the village around it was called "Sripathi gramam" (The sacred abode of Iswaran). During the rule of Magha, Tiruppathi came under his effective control. A Sanskrit inscription discovered in recent times in this place mentions a ruler called Lokanatha Dandanayaka of the Sethukula dynasty who constructed a Buddhist vihare. On palaeographical grounds this inscription can be assigned to the 13th Century A.D. During this time there were a number of chieftains and princes of the Vanni and Kings of Jaffna who came from the Brahminic Saivite families of

Sethu in Rameswaram. There also seems to have been a very close connection between the Arya Chakravarti Kings of Jaffna and Tiruppathi in the 13th Century.

This inscription is another clear proof of the contribution and support given by Tamil Hindus to Buddhism and the co-existence and pro-existence of both religions. The inscription further states that the Buddhist Vihare was named after the "Velaikkara" regiment and placed under their protection. This can be compared to the Velaikkara inscription of Polonnaruwa where the Dalada Vihare was placed under the protec-

tion and care of the Tamil Velaikkara regiment. It is obvious from all this evidence that the Tamil rulers, Army and people respected and protected the rights and privileges of the Buddhists while the Buddhists similarly trusted the Tamils and respected their religious rights and privileges and extended their support to Tamil settlements and shrines.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN TIRUPATHI (PADAWIYA).

From time to time valuable archaeological treasures have been discovered in this place. In 1969 technicians and masons of the Archaeological department discovered a well preserved

statue of Karaikkal Ammayar a great devotee of Siva, and an unique Siva lingam out of blue and green stone and various offering bowls when digging up one of the old Siva temples. Urns, brass incense burners, vessels, lamps, bells, figures and statues of various gods and goddesses including the base and dureole of a statue of Siva were found. These were probably buried under the temple during the period of the Portuguese persecution when Tirupathi was abandoned.

The most important find, according to Dr. Rajah de Silva, the Archaeological Commissioner in 1970, was a circular seal about 2 inches diagonally. On it are inscribed a recumbent bull (Nandhi) on a lotus with certain Saivite symbols, flanked by two lamps (kuthuvillaku). The symbols are all clearly Saivite similar to those found on the coins of the Arya Chakravarti Kings of the Setu Kula dynasty. Around the seal is inscribed a Sanskrit verse in the Grantha

script of the medieval period. The verse reads as follows: "Hail, this is the ground adorned by the crown of Indra and the others of Siva residing in Sri Pathi gramam which is the abode of the illustrious Brahmins." It can be assumed from these evidences that the ruler and the Brahmins belonged to the Sethu Kula dynasty to which also the kings of Jaffna belonged.

LATER DECLINE AND TRAGEDY.

After the decline during the colonial period of the Portuguese and Dutch nobody took any interest in this place and shrine which became part of the thick surrounding jungle. In British times certain governors such as Sir Henry Ward visited the place and left some records regarding the restoration of the tank. In the middle of this century when the tank was restored and colonists were selected for the re-colonisation of Padawiya by the then M.E.P. Government headed by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, 1134 Sinhala families from outside were selected for settlement violating the land laws and the land development ordinance. Not a single Tamil or Tamil family was selected and no application forms were sent to the Tamil divisions of the Vanni. Only a few realised that Padawiya was in the traditional homeland of the Tamils and had a very long history for the Tamils and Hindus. The Government action was one of the most tragic and cruel deeds perpetrated on the Tamil Community with regard to their most sacred soil in the Vanni.

The lonely cry of the times was that of Mr. C. Suntheralingam, M.P., for Vavuniya, who, in Parliament and out of Parliament clamoured for the territorial rights of the Tamil people of the Vanni. On June 19th, 1957 Mr. C. Suntheralingam fearlessly stated "No Tamil can wait with folded arms and see 1,134 Sinhala families from outside settled in the traditional homelands of the Tamils when there is so much land hunger among them and they are crying out for fields in which they can grow their basic food for themselves and for their posterity".

The Government of the day had its own way and acted dictatorially in spite of all protests and the oppression of the Tamils politically, socially, economically and culturally continued unabated and with greater intensity. The Tamils have a great lesson to learn from what happened to Tiruppathy (Padawiya). We hope at least the great Tamil Hindu treasures discovered in this important place and shrine will find a very prominent place in the New Museum of Vavuniya! Will they?

HOW IS THIS WEEK FOR YOU?



(March 28 — April 3)

S. Ratnarajah

MESHA—ARIES.

A highly successful week both in profession and finance. Peace and harmony in the family. Enemies will come to you for favours and they will be at your beck and call. The spouse will undertake short journeys in connection with religious matters. Expenses will be high in respect of children.

RISHABA—TAURUS.

Superiors and friends will be helpful in connection with your professional matters. The spouse and children will cause worry and expense this week. Things will not happen as you plan. Hidden enemies will try to cause you worry and trouble but they will not succeed. Exercise caution when moving with members of the opposite sex.

MITHUNA—GEMINI

There will be disappointments in your planned attempts but unexpected gains will be made. Be cautious with your friends and relations. Professionally a gainful week with superiors helping you. Caution required regarding your health. Children will give you happiness. Speculative luck is also indicated.

KATAKA—CANCER.

Chances of purchase of vehicles or house and property are indicated during the first part of the week. Progress and gains in profession indicated after strong protest and obstruction. Financial gains will be made in a legitimate way. Friends and relations will be helpful. Family harmony and peace will prevail.

SINHA—LEO.

Unexpected luck during this week in connection with professional matters. Superiors may not be helpful and hidden enemies will cause obstructions to your progress. Superlative

luck is indicated. A week of mixed results as far as family harmony and happiness is concerned.

KANYA—VIRGO.

Beware of accidents especially on Sunday and Monday. Unnecessary disputes and bickerings in the family circle. In the professional sphere superiors and friends will be helpful. You will have the day in spite of enemy activities. The spouse will be helpful and a source of inspiration when you are dejected. Children will cause you worry.

THULA—LIBRA

There is "chandrashtamanam" during the early part of the week. You will have unnecessary worries. There will be smooth sailing in the professional sphere. There will be minor impediments and obstruction caused by the spouse and children in day to day affairs but this can be overcome by determination.

VRICHKA—SCORPIO.

"Chandrashtamanam" is on Thursday. Beware of accidents and poisonous insects on this day. Speculative luck is indicated during the early part of the week. Short journeys are indicated during the early part of the week. Unexpected luck in second hand vehicles transactions and transactions of house and property. Financial gains indicated.

DHANU—SAGGITARIUS.

Speculative luck and unexpected gains in profession and business transactions. Unnecessary worry regarding health of spouse. Hidden enemies will try to take advantage of your kindness but they will not succeed. Financial gains are indicated.

MAKARA—CAPRICORN

This is an ideal week for you to gain favours from your superiors and friends. Members of the opposite sex will be very helpful. Speculative luck is indicated. Children and spouse will be a source of inspiration in your activities.

KUMBA—AQUARIUS.

Caution required regarding accidents. Loss in transit or theft is indicated. A week of unexplained worries. You might be required to do short journeys in connection with business or professional matters. It is better to avoid such journeys. Take the advice of your spouse this week when considering intricate problems.

MEENA—PISCES.

In the home front you will have to tackle many intricate problems. Caution required regarding your personal health. Expect changes in your field of activities but it is better to remain where you are. Avoid social activities but you will have to undertake such activities and you will have to spend heavily.

(Continued from
last issue)

The present racial tension between the Sinhalese and Tamil populations in Sri Lanka has deep historical roots, dating back to the first century A.D. It is claimed that the Sinhala race was founded in Sri Lanka in the fifth century B.C. by an exiled prince from northern India and that the Sinhalese are of Aryan origin. The Tamils are Dravidians and came from southern India.

There are two separate Tamil communities in Sri Lanka; the "Jaffna" or "Ceylon Tamils" and the "Indian" or "Estate Tamils". They are both of the same ethnic origin and speak the same language. The "Ceylon Tamils" came at a date disputed by historians, but there were Tamil incursions from South India at least by the first century A.D. Major Tamil invasions took place from 700 A.D. to 1300 A.D. culminating in the establishment of a Tamil kingdom in the North. Buddhist historical chronicles report frequent wars between Sinhalese and Tamil kings. At the time of the Portuguese conquest in 1621 an independent Tamil kingdom existed in the North.

Sinhala myths and legends

The "Indian Tamils" were brought to Ceylon as indentured labourers by the British to work on the tea and rubber plantations in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

At present, Ceylon Tamils constitute 11% of the population of Sri Lanka and Indian Tamils 9%. The two Tamil communities have remained largely separate with the Ceylon Tamils concentrated in the northern part of the Island, particularly in the area known as the Jaffna peninsula. A substantial number of Ceylon Tamils, however, are resident in Colombo and some southern areas. The Indian Tamils are primarily resident in the hill country in the central part of Sri Lanka.

The Ceylon Tamils are, in general, a prosperous and well educated group; the Indian Tamils live and work in conditions of misery and poverty. At independence in 1948 the Indian Tamils were deprived of citizenship and disenfranchised. Under an agreement with India in 1964, Sri Lanka agreed to repatriate 60% of the Indian Tamils and to grant citizenship to the remaining 40%. The agreement has been only partially carried out. The ethnic conflict, until recently

has been largely between the Ceylon Tamils and the Sinhalese. In August 1981, however, and to an extent in 1977, the Indian Tamils were attacked when communal violence broke out.

The Sinhalese population of Sri Lanka has historically considered the Tamils as invaders, infringing on Sinhalese territory. Sinhalese myths and legends often refer to the triumph of Sinhalese kings over rival Tamil rulers. One scholar has written,

"History and historiography have created an emotive climate of ethnic animosity which often results in violence, preventing compromise and a negotiated settlement of ethnic differences."

The minority complex of the Sinhalese

The identification of the Buddhist religion with Sinhalese nationalism is also an important element in understanding the roots of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is regarded as one of the major world centres of Buddhism. It is widely believed that Buddha himself consecrated Sri Lanka; a relic of the Buddha's tooth is enshrined in Kandy in Central Sri Lanka. Buddhist temples abound. The Sinhalese population is overwhelmingly Buddhist. The Tamil speaking population is predominantly Hindu although there is a substantial minority of Muslims and Christians.

The Constitution provides that the Republic of Sri Lanka "shall give to Buddhism the foremost place" and that it is the duty of the state to protect and foster the Buddhist faith. Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Constitution but other religions are not mentioned.

It is frequently pointed out that, although a majority group within Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese have a minority complex since they are a minority ethnic group within Asia. Tamils in Asia outnumber the Sinhalese by five to one. There are more than 50,000,000 Tamils in South Asia, primarily in the South of India only a few miles across the sea from Sri Lanka. This insecurity of the Sinhalese may have contributed to the racial tension in the Island.

(To be continued)

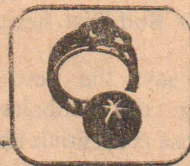
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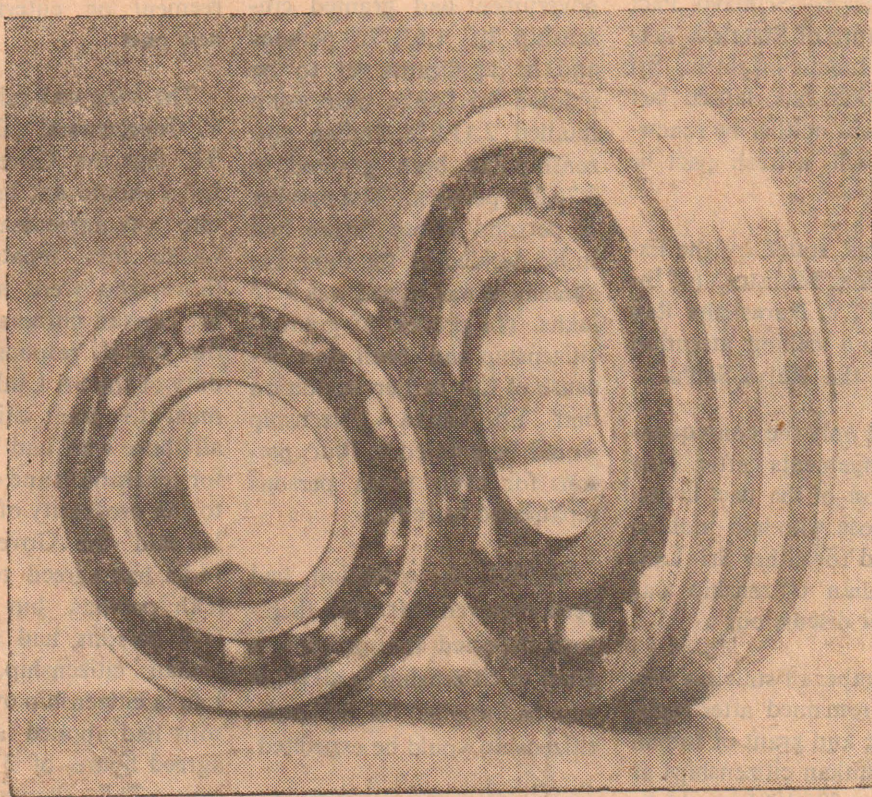
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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

"Wanted - a true Sinhalese leader"

"Wanted - a true Sinhalese leader" is the banner headline in the first-February-issue of a Sinhala monthly newspaper entitled "Sinhala-dipa."

The paper is published by the Sinhala Sanwardana Sanvidanaya (Sinhala Development Organisation—address No. 40, 2nd Cross Street, Colombo-11) which says its objectives are to promote the unity and development of the Sinhalese and protect and preserve their Buddhist heritage.

It says the need of the hour is a Sinhalese leader whose credentials about the commitment to protect the race, religion and language are above suspicion, who is attuned to national culture and who is able to carry on the administration in Sinhala only.

The paper contains snide attacks on Sinhalese Buddhist leaders in the Government for their lip service to the Sinhalese Buddhist cause.

The organisation has appealed to all Buddhist monks to eschew party politics and assist it to promote Sinhalese Buddhist unity.

It has also appealed to all Sinhalese businessmen to co-operate with it to carry out a programme of economic consolidation and development of the Sinhalese people.

The paper contains an advertisement about a book in Sinhala titled "Footsteps of the Nagas" by P. Weerasinghe on the ancient civilisation in Vavuniya district.

Election date to be made known on May Day?

President J. R. Jayawardene is expected to announce the date of the next General Elections—the ninth since Independence—at the ruling United National Party's May Day Rally at Galle Face Green.

Political insiders who confidently make this prediction say the Government has decided to dissolve Parliament in July (when even the members elected to Parliament for the first time would have qualified for a pension) and hold a snap election towards the end of August.

According to Section 70, Sub-section 5 (a) of the constitution: "A Proclamation dissolving Parliament shall fix a date or dates for the election of Members of Parliament, and shall summon the new Parliament to meet on a date not later than three months after the date of such Proclamation."

The UNP's May Day Rally this year - which comes hard on the heels of the opening of the new Parliament building at Sri Jayawardenepura, Kotte, on 29th April—is expected to be even more colourful than in the past, as it

will spearhead the UNP's pre-election publicity campaign. Foreign and local film stars and pop singers will, as usual, be the star turns.

Political observers expect the Government to make use of the Rally to give maximum publicity to its development achievements which the Government thinks is its trump card.

Meanwhile, the Treasury has advised the Government not to start any new development projects as funds have run dry.

The Cabinet, at a meeting held on 24 March, decided to raise a loan of Rs. 600 million from the Asian Development Bank to complete work on development projects already started.

Work on certain sections of the Mahaweli Development Project has come to a standstill due to aid drying up.

NO MORE PACTS ON THE STATELESS, SAYS INDIA

The Shastri-Srimavo Pact on the future of Stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka which has lapsed last October will neither be renewed nor will a fresh pact be signed.

This was stated by the External Affairs Minister, (of India) Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao in reply to a calling attention motion in the Rajya Sabha.

He said only the consequential arrangements after the termination of the pact in respect of those who had not so far applied for either Sri Lanka or Indian citizenship was now under discussion.

The number of stateless persons that remained after registration for and grant of Indian and Sri Lankan citizenships as on October 30, 1981 would be 100,000 and this was not an unmanageable figure. He was confident that the problem would be sorted out.

The arrangement, he said which had lapsed, had been implemented to the extent of 90 per cent. The Sri Lankan

government had granted citizenship to 1,63,172 persons and the applicants yet to be granted Sri Lanka citizenship totalled 2,11,828. Indian citizenship had been granted to 3,76,281 persons. The number of persons whose future had to be decided at the time the agreement was signed was 9.75 lakhs. The process of grant of citizenship had been slow because of the earlier condition that Sri Lanka citizenship would be granted to four persons for every seven persons repatriated to India.

In 1981 the condition had been removed. Mr. Rao therefore, expected the process of grant of citizenship to all those who had applied for Sri Lanka citizenship would be expedited.

He said at this juncture, the Government of India should not take a stand which might give rise to an equally rigid posture in Sri Lanka. "On either side there is inclination to get the matter settled", he said adding that there was no question of extending the ag-

reement or entering into a new pact.

The issue was raised by Mr. V. Gopalaswami (DMK) who felt that the Government of India should not have entered into any agreement with Sri Lanka for repatriation of those who were not granted Sri Lankan citizenship. It was the moral responsibility and duty of the Sri Lanka Government to grant citizenship to all those who had been there for generations and contributed to the prosperity of the island. He said the Government of India had agreed to take 5.2 lakh persons but only four lakh persons had applied for Indian citizenship. For Sri Lanka citizenship 6.2 lakh persons had applied against the agreed figure of 3 lakh persons. This showed that the people of Indian origin who had gone there as plantation workers did not want to come back to India. The reason was that they had no home, relatives or jobs here. He felt that none should be compelled to seek Indian citizenship against his wishes.

Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram (CPI) disputed the figure of 100,000 mentioned by the Minister as the number of those remaining Stateless. He felt the number would be 600,000.

The Minister conceded that his estimate might not be precise but he felt it would not be 600,000 as made out by the member.

Mr. R. Ramakrishnan (AIA DMK) alleged that the problem of persons of Tamil origin in Sri Lanka did not evoke the same amount of concern as the problem of the people of Indian origin in Britain and other places. He wanted a Tamil-speaking High Commissioner to be posted in Sri Lanka and the Tamil Nadu Government consulted by the Centre before decisions were taken on issues concerning people of Tamil origin in Sri Lanka. (THE HINDU OF MARCH 13, 1982).

Ted Grant for NSSP Conference

Ted Grant, leader of the "Militant" tendency within the British Labour Party will address a news conference convened by the Nava Sama Samaja Party, on Monday 29th March at the GCSU Building, Colombo.

Some of the topics Ted Grant will touch on at the conference are: the prospects for a new Labour government in Britain, the global crisis from a Marxist viewpoint and the Sri Lanka struggle in its international perspective.

Ted Grant is in Sri Lanka to participate in the NSSP's All-Island Conference which begins on 2nd April, according to Dr. Vickremabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary of the Nava Samasamaja Party.