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# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No. 11

April 10, 1982

Rs. 2

# D.C.s to get more teeth:

# T.U.L.F. to go it alone

## Editorial

### It is now or never

Two-and-a-half years ago a non-politician made this statement in public: "...We have to take into account the fact that Sinhala and Tamil nationalism have come to stay. It is unlikely that the two nations can ever come together...". The speaker continued: "...there might be solutions like the present one that is being attempted by the President but this could succeed only if they satisfy three conditions. **FIRSTLY**, Tamil political leadership must get something really tangible and substantial in exchange for their demand for a sovereign state of Eelam. **SECONDLY**, that solution must prove acceptable to the Tamil people who invested the Tamil leadership with the mandate for Eelam. If it fails to satisfy, the present parliamentary leadership will be swept away in a storm and be replaced by an extreme leadership which means business. And this could mean writing off of the Tamils in the seven Sinhala provinces. **THIRDLY**, the Sinhala political leadership must show a desire and willingness to work out an arrangement in a meaningful manner should these be acceptable to the majority of the Tamils...."

The analysis shows not only a high degree of sensitivity and perception but also an attitude of mind that allowed no kind of prevarication on the Sinhala-Tamil issue.

In the light of Monday's round of talks between President Jayawardene and the TULF leadership, it seems this is the ripe time to put this analysis to the test. **FIRSTLY**, what has emerged out of Monday's talks that could be called "tangible and substantial"? **SECONDLY**, will that solution prove acceptable to the Tamil people? **THIRDLY**, is there a desire and willingness in the Sinhala political leadership to work out the arrangements in a meaningful manner?

The answers to these three questions must come, not from the Government, but the TULF leaders themselves; not merely because it involves the Party's credibility and survival; not merely because it could affect—if the political analyst's warning comes true—the lives and properties of Tamils in seven provinces; not only because the future of the growing Tamil generation is at stake; but because the leaders have a moral duty, now, to take their own voters into their confidence. There is a growing communication gap between the party hierarchy and the people who gave them a mandate. This has to be bridged. It is now or never.

The political analyst whose views we quoted is not a text book academician. He is Dr. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, a political "intermediary" who enjoys the trust and confidence of both President Jayawardene and the TULF leadership. Although he expressed these views in October, 1979, as Chief Guest at the Annual Prize-giving of Jaffna Central College, it occurs to us that these views take on a sharpened contemporary relevance right now.

**The Tamil United Liberation Front will not enter into a pact with any other political party to contest the next General Elections. Nor will it team up with other parties to jointly celebrate May Day.**

Sources close to the TULF interpret this decision to go it alone as a rebuff to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (Sirima Wing). Last week the SLFP (S), it is learnt, had invited the TULF to join a common anti-UNP Front to contest the elections. As a preliminary step, the SLFP (S) wanted the TULF to take part in a joint opposition MAY DAY RALLY.

**Political observers think the TULF's refusal to join in any common anti-UNP Front has been mainly respons-**

**ible for the success of the TULF-Government high-level amity talks.**

**They point out that the latest round of talks held on 5 April has helped to give 'teeth' to the District Development Councils.**

At this meeting, the Government had agreed to give more powers to the Executive Committees of the Development Councils. It had also accepted a suggestion that the Executive Committees be permitted to use funds

allocated this year under the decentralised budget.

Under this agreement, the powers presently exercised by Government Agents and Departmental heads will be vested in the Executive Committees of the District Development Councils.

This will mean that subjects like education, agriculture and land distribution (in all, about 15 spheres of activity) will come directly under the DDC's.

A four-member committee including the TULF representative, Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, has been appointed to draft a bill embodying this agreement. The Bill is expected to be tabled in Parliament before 15 May.



Recognize the face? He is Dr. Jeyaratnam Wilson, Professor of Political Science at Canada's University of New Brunswick and son-in-law of the late Tamil leader S. J. V. Chelvanayakam. As political scientist, author, and son-in-law, Dr. Wilson has been making news in all three roles. He delivered the Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture last year with an aplomb and a sense of freedom that raised eyebrows among his Jaffna and Colombo audiences. But his favourite fourth role during recent times has been that of a political intermediary. He flew down from Canada and lost no time in bringing President Jayawardene and the T. U. L. F. leadership to the conference table. The amity talks have been continuing ever since.

(Story on page 12)



## Saturday Review

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### Deaths

**DR. S. C. ARULANANDAN** of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, beloved husband of Thavamalar (Rasathy), son of late S. Candiah (Notary Public) and Mrs. C. Candiah (Retd. Principal) of Kalliankadu, Jaffna, father of Dora, Sarah, Gerrad, brother of Sivakreedan (Abu Dhabi), Paramanandan (Canada), Dr. Vivekanandan (U. K.), Sathiadevi (Agricultural Dept., Jaffna), Bella and Christie Candiah (Poonduloya) brother-in-law of Ponnalar, Beatrice, (Canada), Gracie (U. K.), Packianathan, Sinnathurai (Retd. P. H. I.), late Thanaluxmy (Prof. Muthulingam University of Colombo), Gnanamalar (Dr. Maheswaran Nigeria), Jayamalar Puvanesalingam (Canada) and Ranjithamalar (Jegatheeswaran-U. K.), died under tragic circumstances.

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Prof. Arasaratnam

Beginning next week the Saturday Review will publish the text of the 1982 Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. Sinnapah Arasaratnam on 27th and 29th March in Jaffna. The subject of the lecture delivered under the auspices of the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust is—“A Historical Foundation of the Economy of the Tamils of North Ceylon.”

Prof. S. Arasaratnam, former lecturer of the University of Ceylon and Senior Lecturer in Indian Studies in the University of Malaya, is now the Head of the Department of History, University of New England, Australia.

# President versus the Press

As it must to all Presidents, pique with the press has come to Ronald Reagan. His annoyance first slipped out in public at his last news conference, after reporters had challenged the accuracy of some of his famous parables. Last week his anger boiled over in an interview with the Daily Oklahoman. The television networks, the President charged, were delaying economic recovery with their “constant downbeat” stories. “Is it news,” he asked, “that some fellow out in South Succotash someplace has just been laid off that he should

be interviewed nationwide, or someone’s complaint that the budget cuts are going to hurt their present program?”

Almost as soon as he loosed this volley, Reagan seemed to try to call it back. “I hope I didn’t touch a nerve with any of the press a few days ago,” he said in a digression from a speech,

At times, says one senior aide, “he comes close to viewing (the media) as a threatening foreign power.”

But Reagan also knows that he enjoys one rare and precious advantage in his relations with the press: most journalists who cover the White House like him personally. Hence his quick

## A NEWSWEEK report

March 29, 1982

“because I think that most of the time the overwhelming majority of them are doing a fine job and as a former reporter, columnist and commentator myself, I know just how tough their job can be.”

Behind this Presidential bob and weave lay two perceptions: Reagan does indeed resent what he believes to be less-than-professional conduct by part of the media, and he also realizes that to air this resentment publicly will almost surely make matters worse. He has been particularly irritated by a series of national-security leaks, most recently concerning clandestine plans in Central America. He believes that the press has romanticized the rebel movement in El Salvador, and he deeply resents the notion, prevalent in some journalism, that he is a wealthy man who is callously indifferent to the needs of the poor.

move to call a truce last week before he began to undermine all that.

**YELLS:** Veteran journalists seemed to take the President’s outburst more philosophically than in the bad old days when a single alliterative speech by Spiro Agnew could send grown newsmen rushing to the battlements of the First Amendment. Said NBC News anchor man John Chancellor: “I tend to be less and less offended by Presidential criticism, because when you look at the record it goes back a very long time.” Though he rejected Reagan’s specific charges, Chancellor defended his right to voice them. “I suppose if I were President I might feel poorly about some of (the coverage)” Chancellor said. “But if he wants to yell at us every once in a while, he’s no different than almost any other President.”

At the heart of the age-old problem is a simple difference of perspective. “There is a constant tendency among Presidents,” says Reagan’s communications director David Gergen, to say that the glass is half-full and the press to say it’s half-empty. That’s a built-in conflict—to look at the same set of facts and put a different slant on them.” The responsibility on both sides is not to let the conflict get out of hand. It did in Richard Nixon’s day and also in Jimmy Carter’s. By the end of his term, Carter was so embittered about his treatment by the networks that he banned television cameras from his last two news conferences—a policy that he planned to continue if re-elected.

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# Political Causerie

No truer word was spoken in Parliament during the final sitting in the old building than Chavakachcheri M. P. Mr. V. N. Navaratnam's statement that we now have a "devalued" legislature.

Mr. Navaratnam said that in 1977 the people elected them to "a sovereign Parliament" (which, according to the 1972 Constitution, was the "supreme instrument of state power"). But with the 1978 Constitution, the President had walked away with their powers!

Nobody, however could say that he had not been warned that such a situation would arise once Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was installed in office.

As long ago as 1966, he had made his intentions quite clear when, at a meeting of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science in Colombo, he advocated "a strong executive seated in power for a fixed number of years, not subject to the whims and fancies of an elected legislature...."

The Constitution says that "the legislative power of the People shall be exercised by Parliament, consisting of elected representatives of the People, or by the People at a referendum."

## No risk of whims & fancies

But Parliament, as now constituted, does little beyond setting the rubber stamp of approval after comparatively brief debate, on bills originating in the President's Office. It is a captive in the hands of the President, who keeps the United National Party majority in it under a firm grip. There is scant opportunity for "whims and fancies."

On the subject of bills, a total of nearly 315 have been passed the past four-and-a-half years. This is an average of more than one a week. The rapidity with which these have been passed becomes obvious when it is remembered that generally Parliament sits for only four days in the second week of every month and two days the fourth week. It is as if the Government believed that legislation alone could solve problems.

No doubt some legislation alone could solve problems. New laws have been necessary, but so many have been pushed through Parliament at such a rush that even many lawyers may not be fully



V. N. Navaratnam

aware of their provisions. That is the point I wish to emphasise. The rush, allows little or no time for public debate and discussion. Many important bills whose provisions affect the fundamental rights and civil liberties of the people had gone straight from the President's Office to the Supreme Court (with the tag "Urgent in the national interest") and from there to Parliament where it had been bulldozed through on the day of receipt itself. The recent amendment of the anti-Terrorist Act provided a classic illustration.

Sometimes, copies of "urgent" bills had been received by MPs only just before the debate so that even they had no time to study them. Protests of the Opposition notwithstanding, the bills had been proceeded with immediately.

The first time the public had become aware of some such bills was when the newspapers published reports—sometimes very scanty reports—of the debates.

This rush has been a characteristic in the enactment of legislation by this Government.

## More and more amendments

In the mighty hurry, some vital points had been overlooked in some bills so that soon amendments had to be rushed through.

The best example is the 1978 Constitution. Described as a "model" for the world by its chief architect, President Jayewardene, it had to be amended twice within six months. More amendments to it are probable before the UNP quits office.

Why is the Government shy of public discussion if, as it claims, it is committed to "democracy." For in a free society "the victory of persuasion over force could be ensured and achieved only by permitting public discussion." Is it because the Government is badly pressed for time; or, is it because it does not care for public opinion?

## How many bills — & what a rush!

by **Gamini Navaratne**

The previous regime, too, resorted to rush legislation several times. Leading the strong protests then was no less than Mr. Jayewardene who said there should be "uninhibited, robust and wide-open debate on public issues" which "may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on Government and public officials."

What a colossal chasm between word and deed!

## A MATTER OF PRIVILEGE?

Is the Parliament (Powers & Privileges) Act meant to protect "rogue elephants"? Certainly not, anyone with an awareness of its provisions and their intent would say. Then why have most national newspapers been shy (up to the time of writing this) to reveal the name of the young UNP parliamentarian who according to the Customs, attempted to smuggle in gold and wrist watches? His identity was immediately known in political and newspaper circles, but several editors I spoke to said there was the Privileges Act to think of.

The Privileges Act is there mainly "to secure the freedom of speech and debate or proceedings in the House"; in other words, to ensure that MPs could speak out freely on matters of public interest.

But their conduct, in the House and outside, is open to free and critical comment and exposure, especially when it does not conform to accepted norms.

The Press should exercise more frequently and purposefully this right to comment on the conduct of parliamentarians, not after they go out of office (as has generally been the practice with our newspapers) but when they are in the seats of power. This is a duty by the people that the Press should not shirk. To come to the main subject, it was an open secret that the MP for Hewaheta, **Mr. Anura Daniel** was questioned by the Customs on his return from Singapore.

It was also known that President Jayewardene quiz-

come clear from the two following episodes.

A politician in the Dudley Senanayake Government was leaving for Mecca with his son and daughter-in-law. On a tip-off that they were carrying gems, the Customs checked the baggage of the couple but they could not do anything about the politicians because he enjoyed diplomatic immunity. Of course, they drew blank.

On their return, they brought a load of textiles and other goods which they could not have purchased

zed him and reportedly asked him to resign.

There is nothing in the Privileges Act to have prevented any newspaper from publishing these two facts. If eventually the MP is found innocent, that fact, too, can be given equal prominence. The MP would have had no cause to take action against any newspaper.

## Organised racket?

Several newspapers have referred to the probable existence of a number of organised gangs bringing in all sorts of contraband in large quantities, not infrequently with the connivance of Customs officers and, sometimes, unwittingly or wittingly, of politicians as well.

About three years ago, one politician got down a quantity of goods, including bikinis, from Singapore. This was found to be irregular. When questioned, "Relief for cyclone victims" was the explanation—which was accepted!

Then, the MP for Kolonna **Mr. Nanda Mathew**, who returned from Singapore a few months ago, found some allegations made against him also. He denied them and threatened to sue those who sought to besmirch his reputation. In his own interest, in the context of the latest incident, I urge him to file action as early as possible for a politician's reputation is everything to him.

## Rogue elephants

That most politicians are not all that spotless in their conduct as their pure white garbs seek to imply will be-

with the meagre exchange allotted to them. Again the politician was allowed to go but the Customs would not release the goods of the couple until an inquiry was held and due penalties were levied.

The politician, the newspapers of the day reported, made a big fuss and had the goods bonded. Later, these were got down to Colombo and somehow released.

Another politician of the same Government accompanied his wife and daughter, who were leaving for Madras up to the tarmac so that there was no Customs check.

Again acting on a tip-off the Customs made a thorough search of all the other passengers—and drew blank. Undaunted, they passed a message to their counterparts in Madras, who also searched all the passengers except the politician's wife and daughter.

And, hey presto, a rich haul of precious stones was found in the possession of a well-known smuggler, who was one of the passengers!

A few days later, an Opposition member alleged in Parliament that a Government politician's wife had been involved in a smuggling attempt but did not mention the name. This politician came rushing into the chamber shortly afterwards demanding who had dared mention his name. The presiding officer had to calm him, saying no one had mentioned his name, but by then the cat was out of the bag!

A leading lawyer was sent to Madras to appear for the

(Continued over leaf)



# Sarath Muttetuwegama on the Terrorism Act Amendment Bill

(Continued from the last issue)

You have seen, Sir, in the course of your practice, time after time people coming out of remand and coming to a Court house and getting up and openly complaining to the Magistrate that something had happened to them in the remand jail, and the Magistrate thereupon making an inquiry or initiating an inquiry regarding the proceedings that took place in the remand jail. But when this happens, that man has no protection at all. Whether he is suspected or accused or indicted or not, he goes to some place; he remains in remand custody; he remains in an unspecified place to be specified only by the order of the Minister where he has no protection at all. That is why this particular matter was carefully considered by the Supreme Court and that judgment was delivered.....

Then there is another interesting provision. Section 2 gives a list of offences, the list of offences necessary to deal with the tiger movement, with the terrorists. I had occasion to refer to this matter earlier when there was

# This Bill is no answer to Terrorism

some Bill about public property. I think it was on the last occasion we sat. The provision is in Section 2 (e)

"Commits the offence of mischief to the property of the Government, any department, statutory board, public corporation, bank, co-operative union or co-operative society or to any other public property;"

Now what happens? Where can this be used apart from the tiger movement, apart from the terrorists? You take any strike situation! Most of us who have been involved in any kind of trade union activity know that the moment there is a strike in

any work place there is tension and there is struggle and there are lockouts and all sorts of things happen. Either there can be actual damage caused by the people who are on strike or there can be simulated damage caused to public property in the place where the strike is taking place. Immediately the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, which is now no longer temporary, comes into play and the Minister using his yardstick keeps those people under detention in some unspecified place for 18 months, one does not have to punish people thereafter. There is enough punishment possible under this Act itself.

Then, Sir, regarding the Amendment itself all I want to say is this: that this Amendment was necessitated by the Supreme Court delivering that judgment. What the Supreme Court said was that if you have charged a person under this Act, then you cannot fall back on the provisions of this Act which enabled you to detain him all over the countryside. Then they said, if you have charged people under this Act you must bring them to the proper judicial authority and then get a remand order made by the Magistrate. That gives the powers, the privileges which I outlined earlier which a man who is under the protection of the Magistrate naturally draws unto himself. Now this takes away that, and what it would mean is a very very curious situation.

## Not obliged to inform

It would mean that if a man is charged for murder before the High Court and if the trial is pending and if he is remanded in one of the normal remand jails in this country the Minister, or I do not know whether the amendment says the Secretary can make an order without any reference to that Court which has remanded this man, and have him taken from that remand jail to some place which he specifies it may be the Army Camp or Boy Scouts Headquarters or

I do not know where. That is a very serious thing. They are not obliged to inform the judge, they are not obliged to inform the Court. They can simply take the physical custody of a man from the remand jail and take him and lock him up somewhere else! Why do you want to do that, I want to ask the Hon. Minister, because somebody, while we were discussing outside, said that this is being done for the protection of the Tamil terrorists who might come under attack in the normal remand

it is cited as contempt of court or not, it is in fact a contempt of that Court.

"The government is panicky"

Therefore, I think that the Amendment in itself is not merely bad in law, not merely unconstitutional as the Constitutional Court has held, but it is something which shows that this Government is panicky. I said this when I was speaking on the Criminal Justice Bill also; terrorism is not something that crops up on its own; it does not occur in a political dimension, nor does it occur because people have some mental aberration and they want to go about doing terrorism and terrorism is the last resort of the people. I am not for a moment

## IN PARLIAMENT

jails of this country. I appreciate the concern which is shown towards these people but the point is, why should you not give them the option? If that is the object of this Bill, give them the option to be remanded by a Magistrate to a remand prison or to be locked up in some place which is specified. Whether it is Tamil terrorists or Sinhalese people, like the SLFP trade unionists who were locked up, give them the option, because if that is the rationale behind this then they can be given the option. I do not think that is seriously the reasoning behind this, Sir, and it is quite clear that there are other objectives behind this, and that is this can be used for very very dangerous political purposes in the future.

## Contempt of court

All I can say is that the Amendment would border on contempt of court because you will be committing a contempt of court each time you take a man who is charged with an offence and deal with him as you want. This is the first time in the history of this country where the legislature is giving powers to the executive to take away from the custody of the Court a man who is charged before it and is naturally under protection of that Court. This is the first time and when you do that, each time you do it, whether

"Terrorism is the last resort of the people"

condoning racial terrorism. But I want to say this. If the people of this country are pushed into a situation where they cannot achieve normal, decent standards of living, where the cost of living soars to such heights where they cannot live, where they cannot find for the young people of this country jobs without favouritism and nepotism hounding them all the time then, whether you pass not one Bill but even hundreds of Bills to prevent what you call terrorism, it will definitely take place and it will readily be a revolt of the people of this country and whether you lock them up in the Remand Prison at Welikade or lock them up at Panagoda, nothing can stop that from succeeding in the end.

## Political Causerie

(Continued from page 3)

arrested man. But the Indian Customs had a water-tight case and the man was sentenced to jail.

Later, this lawyer was made an Appointed MP.

Do we see the two politicians in question anywhere in

the Dharmista Government?

Even if they are there, what is the harm? Nothing had been proved against them, though there were strong suspicions.

Which is what we have most of the time.

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# a window on INDIA

## Grandma is not angry with him?



The **Indian Express** reported in its issue of March 30: Mrs. Maneka Gandhi, younger daughter-in-law of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, yesterday moved out of the Prime Minister's No. 1, Safdarjung Road residence. She was accompanied by her three year old son, Varun, an ayah and a family friend.

She drove out of the right gate of the Prime Minister's official residence in a dark-grey Ambassador car at 9-30 p.m. The car was driven by a driver from the Prime Minister's residence.

"I have left the house" Mrs. Maneka Gandhi told this reporter. "I am upset" she said as she fondled Varun. Dressed in a white churidar and printed shirt, she was visibly upset, although she tried to sport a smile as she came out of the car to enter a South Delhi Motel. "I am going to stay here till I am able to find a house of my own" she said. Would she stay with the mother? "No" Maneka said categorically, "I am going to live on my own".

### VARUN RUNNING A FEVER

Mrs. Maneka Gandhi told the **Indian Express** Correspondent on March 30th that Mrs. Indira Gandhi personally asked her to get out of No. 1, Safdarjung Road immediately after the Rajya Sabha elections.

Maneka said the Prime Minister called her to her outer office and, in front of many persons, asked her to leave. The daughter-in-law begged for two days' time to quit. She had no house to go to and her son Varun was running a fever but the Prime Minister was adamant.

After Maneka had packed her bags, Mrs. Gandhi's personal assistant **Mr. R. K. Dhawan** and the family yoga instructor and friend, **Dhirendra Bramachari**, wanted to examine her boxes. Maneka, however, insisted that she would only open her baggage in front of two independent persons all from outside. Her departure from the house, where she had come as a young bride in 1974, was so unceremonious that for the last few hours

of her stay her telephone was cut off and her family members were not permitted inside.

Asked if she was taken unawares, Maneka said it was not something totally unexpected. "I have been expecting something for the last two years". She said she had been recently asked to hand over her jewellery, her mail had been censored and there was a move to isolate her.

At the same time, Maneka insisted that she was very fond of her mother-in-law and she of her. "I always do what my mother-in-law says" "I am an obsessively loyal daughter-in-law".

Earlier, Mrs. Gandhi had not told her not to attend the Lucknow Convention, but had just asked her to make up her own mind. It was only on reaching Lucknow that she came to know that her mother-in-law had termed it an anti-party act. She clarified that she had not been invited to go with Mrs. Gandhi to London. Otherwise she would have. Nor had Mrs. Gandhi phoned her at Corbett Park where she was staying. "I haven't the faintest idea for this over-reaction," she claimed.

Maneka was hurt by Mrs. Gandhi's action in releasing to the news agency a letter handed to her while leaving. Maneka said her rejoinder to her-mother-in-law had been penned in No. 1 Safdarjung Road and she was now releasing this to the press as "I don't think it is fair to get only one side."

On Mrs. Gandhi's accusation in her letter that she had got annoyed with her younger daughter-in-law on only three occasions, Maneka remarked, "There is no question of three occasions.... It is a continuous process." She admitted that she had a temper, but said "I have never lost my temper with a member of the family".

Asked whether blood was not thicker than water, she smiled weakly and replied: "I don't consider myself water." Maneka admitted there was a minor clash over her taking Varun with her. The family had at first insisted on keeping him, but had relented when she had

Staying the show from grandmother Indira and mother Menaka at Sanjay Gandhi's death anniversary last June was little **FEROZE VARUN**, dressed in a dhoti-kurta. Unconcerned in his childish buoyance at the solemnity of the occasion, Varun toddled around happily, unable to sit still for a second. Despite his grandmother's and mother's efforts to keep him in his seat he

cheerfully broke all rules by prancing about, showering flowers on his father's samadhi, and then taking off in a separate direction with his ayah and a security guard.

Almost instantly, every photographer present knew where their story was, as they crowded round the playful child. Varun put on a special show for the collected mediamen. He

posed and played and loved every moment of the adulations showered on him. Said a Congress (I) volunteer: "His father would have been pleased to know that his son could steal the thunder from every one else".

(Report and Photograph by courtesy of **INDIA** July 1-15, 1981)

promised that she would send the son everyday to play. She said Mrs. Gandhi was very fond of the child and of her. In fact, Varun had this morning been sent for a visit to his grand-mother.

Did not the two-year old go through a traumatic experience on Monday night?

Maneka explained that he was not upset as he did not understand what was happening. Moreover, he was sleepy as he had not been well for the last two days. He was having cough and fever.

If she was such a good daughter-in-law, why this

hostile reaction by Mrs. Gandhi in her letter? Maneka felt that in the heat of the moment things might have been said which were not meant. "When you get to a position you can say anything, then even the shape of your nose gets criticised".

## C. P. I. remains anti - Indira

Belying all indications, the CPI rank and file unanimously voted for the continuance of the party's present strong opposition to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's "retrograde" domestic policies and simultaneous fight against the "rabidly communal" Bharatiya Janata Party.

With this, the CPI buried finally the ghost of "Dangeism" which was believed to have haunted it even though Mr. Dange was expelled from the CPI chairmanship more than a year ago for advocating a "soft" approach to Mrs. Gandhi.

Preceding this unanimous endorsement was a bid by a minority among the 700 delegates attending the week-long 12th Congress to effect a moderate line in the tone of attack on Mrs. Gandhi.

With its demand rejected by the commission of over 500 delegates set up to consider the draft political resolution, enunciating the political line of the party, the minority did not make any attempt at the

concluding plenary session of the Congress to press for a vote.

Thus, the party's central leadership successfully got round the entire rank and file to its view that the present policy, adopted at the party's 11th congress at Bhatinda four years ago, was correct and it should continue.

**Foreign policy:** The leadership accepted the suggestion of a section of the delegates that an amendment be made clearly stating that the party will not have any political alliance with the Congress (I) even while it strongly backed Mrs. Gandhi's "broadly correct" foreign policy.

This section felt that the CPI's support to the foreign policy of Mrs Gandhi might lead the party into an alliance with it and wanted the stand to be clarified in no uncertain terms.

The unanimous endorsement of the leadership's policy also set at rest the speculation that the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union had expressed itself against the CPI continuing the strong anti-Mrs. Gandhi posture.

**No chairmanship:** The Commission considered about 300 amendments to the draft resolution and adopted 50 of them totally or partially.

Party spokesman **Indrajit Gupta** told newsmen that none of these amendments affected the basic formulations of the draft resolution.

The CPI Congress also unanimously voted for the abolition of the chairmanship of the party, created nearly 20 years ago following differences in the party over the Chinese aggression.

The post has been vacant since 1981 when **Mr. S. A. Dange** was expelled.

An amendment to abolish the post, officially moved by the leadership, was unanimously endorsed by the Congress at the concluding plenary session of the week-long Congress-PTI and UNI.



# From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

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

## the First

## FRANCHISE

## debate

(The Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake's Speech continued from last issue.)

I cannot agree with the statement that the Indians are undesirable and that they should not be admitted into Ceylon. I do not consider that the Indians are undesirable, nor do I think that there is a single person who considers that they are undesirable. But, of course, there are a large number of people who consider that Indian immigration should be restricted. But that is for economic reasons. If that is the opinion of the majority it is left to this Council to pass legislation restricting immigration. I believe the League of Nations has given the Dominions and the Colonies the right to decide who their immigrants should be, and I take it that if we want to restrict Indian immigration we can do so. But our desire is not to restrict the Indians, but to ensure that they are settled here and are part of ourselves before they are allowed to share in the Government of the country.

We do not want to differentiate; we do not want to discriminate. We do not consider the Indians as aliens. We tell them "Become part of ourselves, become Ceylonese, and then share in the Government of the country". That is our position, and I hope our communal friends will not, for their own purposes, misinterpret us, but will appreciate our real attitude in this matter.

**THE HON. Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara:-** (Excerpt from his speech)

"...The charge has been levelled against the people of this country, at least, against one community, that that community is ungrateful to the Indian labourer who has done so much for the country. But it is not realized, Sir, that the man who claims the vote to-day has no connection with the man who did the work on the estates. Except perhaps in nationality, the man who did the work on the estates is different from the man who is clamouring for the vote to-day; he has done his work for his wage and gone home; years have elapsed since, and now

here is another man, who is not domiciled in Ceylon asking for the vote. That is a point which many of those who have been asking that the Indian labourer should be given the vote have lost sight of. They must realize that the man who asks the vote to-day, the migratory labourer, has nothing to do with the man who did the work on the estates. And the man who did the work on the estates did it for a wage and went away.

The point has also been made that no harm is done to the Sinhalese labourer—it is always the Sinhalese labourer who is trotted out and not any other labourer—by the recruitment of Indian labour, and that no harm can be done by the Indian labourer being given the

vote. The charge has been levelled against the Sinhalese labourer that he is a lazy man, that he will not work and that the tea and rubber estates cannot be worked by indigenous labour.

With regard to the charge that the Sinhalese labourer is a lazy man, I may say, Sir, that there are certain provinces and districts in this Island where the Sinhalese labourer does all the work. It is not a case of the Sinhalese labourer being lazy; it is a case of the difficulty of the companies, the foreign companies, and their representatives in this Island, to understand the conditions prevailing in this country. The companies and their representatives find it difficult to sympathize with the national customs and the aspirations of the people. The social structure of the Sinhalese community—perhaps it is the same in the case of the Tamils and the others—is such, Sir, that if there is the wedding of a brother to attend, the labourer will not go to work. There is a certain obligation on every member of the family to weep with those of his that weep, to sorrow with them that sorrow, and to rejoice with those that rejoice. If a near relation of his is dead, the labourer will not go to work. And the religious

customs of the people are such that if it happens to be a *poya* day when a man has to go to the temple to worship, and, perhaps, to meditate, he cannot go to work. It may be that these companies and their representatives cannot appreciate that when they run estates and work estates they must make some sort of allowance for the social obligations of the people of this country. But nothing is done in that direction. The only cry is "We must have labour every day." It may

condition in his own country has been made openly in this Council. Indian labour is being recruited at such a rate as to become a serious menace to the people of this country.

It is possible for me to give statistics, not my own, but taken from the Administration Report for 1927 of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour, the officer who has been appointed by this Government to protect the Indian labourer. I under-

stand that certain statistics were placed before this House by one of the previous speakers. I do not intend to go into very many figures because it will take up so much time to do so, but I can state this:—

The total population of this Island on December 31, 1927, was 5,288,792. In 1921 the total population was 4,504,549. The increase in the population between 1921 and 1927 was 784,243. Now, if we consider the increase of immigrants over emigrants for that period, which comes to 354,395—I am taking my figures from the Administration Report for 1927 of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour—we will see what the actual increase in the population was for that period. That should enable us to judge the rate at which the immigrant labour population in this Island is increasing; that should enable us to find out the rate at which the population of the country, the permanent population, is increasing. And that population includes Indians who are permanently domiciled in Ceylon. For those six years the increase in the immigrant labour population is 354,395 and that in the permanent population only 429,848. So

that, when we say that there is a danger of the permanent population of this Island being swamped by migratory labour, it is perfectly true.

In referring to the permanent population of this Island, I appeal to my Tamil brothers, I appeal to my Muslim friends, and I ask them whether they are not members of the permanent population, they who were born in this Island, who have been bred in this Island, and who have this Island and no other place in which to lay their bones? I would ask them whether, after having worked together all this time, they are now going to say that they are not part of the permanent population of this Island. Are they going to say "No we must reckon the Indian labourer"—admittedly the migratory labourer—"as one of ourselves?" And see his numbers increasing so much that there will not be work for the labourer of the permanent population!

### Unemployed in England

England has been trotted out as an example of a free home, a free country where anyone who has resided there for six months is entitled to vote. I hope my honourable friends have seen the English newspapers for the past month or two. On October 1, 1928, the number of unemployed in England was 1,330,000, and the number is rapidly increasing even without indentured labour. They say that England is a free country to which everybody can go and where everybody can obtain work. But does anyone think that if England is faced with a difficulty like that which confronts us she will keep quiet? It is easy to say that England admits everybody and that therefore we must admit everybody.

(To be continued)

## What C. W. W. Kannangara said

### Total population in 1921

It may be that in this country every man, perhaps, owns an infinitesimal share in some holding or other, in some ancestral property or other. He owns a share in some property, and therefore it may be difficult for the man not to think of that place as his home.

Those who want simply to make money in this country, who are commercially bent, and who say that they are bringing prosperity to the people of this country, say that they must have labour and must recruit it from a place where the people live in such an abject condition that they will go anywhere to escape from their homes and in order to make a living. The statement that the Indian labourer lives in an abject



(Continued from  
last issue)

# The I. C. J. Report

## Historical background to the present ethnic Conflict (continued)

The TULF represents primarily the Ceylon Tamils resident in the northern and eastern provinces. The Indian Tamils are not members of the TULF. They are represented in parliament by the Ceylon Workers Congress, their labour union and political party. Mr. S. Thondaman, CWC member of Parliament, is the Minister of Rural Industrial Development in the present government. The Indian Tamils, through the Ceylon Workers Congress, have not supported the demand of the Ceylon Tamils for a separate state. The TULF leaders have said, however, that their proposed state of Eelam would welcome any Indian Tamils who wish to live there. The TULF manifesto of 1976 states that "when we speak of the Tamil nation, we refer to the entirety of the people in this country to whom the mother tongue is Tamil." The differences in education and economic development between the Indian Tamils and the Ceylon Tamils is great, and, except for a shared sense of insecurity and discrimination on the basis of their common ethnicity, the two communities have little in common.

### BANNING THE SEPARATIST CRY

In addition to the Ceylon Tamils resident in the North and East of Sri Lanka, there are a substantial number of Ceylon Tamils resident in Colombo and in other central and southern areas which are predominantly Sinhalese. These Tamils appear integrated into the social and business life of their communities. Since they do not constitute the main supporters for the TULF, it is unclear whether they support a separate state of Eelam. In view of their integration into communities outside the area claimed for the state of Eelam it is unlikely that they feel directly involved in the demand for independence. If communal violence against Tamils throughout the Island continues, however, this may change. A distinction should be drawn between the attitude of older Tamils who were educated in English, together with their Sinhalese contemporaries, and the younger group of Tamils who have been educated in the Tamil language schools totally separate from the Sinhalese. The older Tamils have Sinhalese friends from childhood and are less conscious of a separate identity than the younger Tamils.

An article in the **CEYLON DAILY NEWS** on August

8, 1981 pointed out that there "is a strong demand within the government parliamentary group that the separation cry be banned by law." Mr. Harinda Corea, the Deputy Minister of Public Administration, has argued that a constitutional amendment banning separatist demands is possible with a 2/3 majority in Parliament and that a referendum is unnecessary. It will be recalled that the UNP has a 2/3 majority in Parliament at present.

While Tamils in the North are strongly in favour of self-determination, it is by no means certain that, in exercising that self-determination, they would choose independence rather than remaining part of Sri Lanka under a federal constitution. The Sinhalese majority, however, has rejected federalism in the past and seems no more likely to favour it at present. A step towards decentralization has been made recently, through the setting up of District Development Councils.

### VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA

The violence resulting from racial conflict in Sri Lanka has been of three types: communal, political or terrorist, and violence by security forces. In 1981, all three types have been present to a serious degree. The present section will discuss the three types of violence with emphasis on the events occurring recently.

### COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

Communal violence first appeared in Sri Lanka in 1958, ten years after independence. The early history of Ceylon was replete with a history of wars between Sinhalese and Tamil kingdoms, but the 1958 conflict was the first in which individuals of one ethnic group attacked members of the other group.

As mentioned earlier, the "Official Languages" Act was adopted in 1956 and agitation by an extremist Buddhist group resulted in the failure to adopt a provi-

sion for the use of Tamil. The Tamils launched a "satyagraha" or peaceful protest which resulted in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact making certain concessions to the Tamils. The Pact was not carried out after another peaceful protest this time by Buddhists. According to one commentator, the scheduled Tamil national convention and

### Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka: Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in July - August 1981 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists by Professor Virginia A. Leary

"an announcement that a Sinhalese was killed in the East by a Tamil (although not for political reasons) sparked off nation-wide communal riots. Accentuated by false rumours, criminal elements took advantage of the breakdown in law and order to murder, loot and plunder. The violence continued unabated for six days, May 2nd to May 27th (sic). The spread of communal violence resulted in a tremendous problem of refugees."

The next major outbreak of communal violence occurred in August 1977, only a few months after the election of the present government. The violence began as an aftermath to the 1977 elections and was first directed against the losing political party but quickly became communal violence. It appeared to be related to events occurring during the preceding administration but was also linked to the first evidence of political violence by Tamil youths. During the 1970-1977 government of Mrs. Bandaranaike there had been increasing tension between Tamils and Sinhalese, particularly between the primarily Sinhalese police force in the northern Tamil area and Tamil youths. According to the Sansoni Commission (a Commission of Inquiry appointed by the President of Sri Lanka to investigate the 1977 violence) the communal violence was

immediately sparked by the shooting of the policemen in the North by Tamil youths, by the inflammatory speeches of Tamil leaders and by the desire of the Tamil population for separation.

From the Tamil point of view, the violence of the youths and the demand for separation were a consequence of increasing discrimination against them during the previous administration. The allegation that the violence was a reaction to the Tamil demand for a separate state has been perceived as a threat that, if the Tamils persist in demanding separation, they can expect violence against them by the Sinhalese majority. The Sansoni report detailed widespread killings, assaults, rapes, and damage to Hindu temples in almost every area of the Island during the August-September 1977 events.

In August 1981, the third major outbreak of communal violence occurred. Since March, increasing tension had developed between the two ethnic groups because of terrorist attacks against police in the north, incommunicado detention of Tamil youths, arson and looting by police in Jaffna. The first act of violence occurred in early August following a clash at a sports meet between Sinhalese and Tamil students in Amparai. It was reported that the Tamil school was surrounded, teachers and students attacked, Tamils in government offices assaulted and the Hindu temple set on fire in the first few days of August. Later, several Tamil colonies in nearby areas were attacked by Sinhalese colonists.

### KILLING OF INDIAN TAMILS

Subsequent August incidents of violence centred on three specific areas: the gem mining area of Ratnapura, Negombo near the capital city of Colombo, and the plantation towns in central Sri Lanka. Before the violence was brought under control by the declaration of a state of emergency by President Jayewardene on August 17, at least 10 Indian Tamils had been killed, numerous Tamil shops and businesses burned and more than 5,000 Indian Tamils had fled to refugee camps.

Unlike the earlier events of violence in 1958 and 1977 the 1981 attacks of arson, looting and killing appear to have been, in part, the work of organized gangs. The *International Herald Tribune* reported that President Jayewardene in an interview with a Reuters correspondent on August 14, stated that the attacks on Tamils in Ratnapura appeared to have been organized. The *Guardian* (London) reported on August 15 that "it seems to have been established that an unnamed group is organising the present violence for motives of its own." An editorial in *The Hindu* (India) of August 18, 1981 stated that "a close look into the riots would show that behind them is a planned and systematic effort to aggravate racial animosity." It was widely reported that attacks in Negombo as well as an attack against passengers on a Jaffna to Colombo train were made by organized gangs. Tamil sources stated that it could not be ruled out that people close to the government were behind the organized violence. They also claimed that police and army forces did not intervene to prevent attacks until the declaration of the state of emergency many days after the attacks began.

### INTERNATIONALIZING THE CONFLICT

Another new element in the recent incidents was the concentration of the violence against the Indian estate Tamils. Earlier communal violence had been directed primarily against the Ceylon Tamils. The attacks against the impoverished Indian Tamils had the effect of internationalizing the conflict since Indian passport holders were among those attacked. According to Indian sources, some 70,000 Indian passport holders in Sri Lanka are awaiting repatriation to India as a result of the 1964 agreement between the two countries. As mentioned earlier, thousands of these Indian Tamils fled to refugee camps during the August violence. Some sought refuge with the office of the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka.

(To be continued)



# LETTERS

## The need for a Teaching hospital in Jaffna

Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Sir,

Jaffna.

That standardisation, introduced by the last government, caused immense frustration among the minority youths and even gave birth to terrorism, is an accepted fact. In its efforts to cushion the effects to some extent, the government established the University of Jaffna. The Faculty of Medicine was sited at Kaithady, while new buildings were to come up in Tinnevely, close to the Campus. Little thought was given to the inadequacy of the Jaffna Hospital for teaching purposes, let alone treatment of patients. Many of the buildings are old, haphazardly arranged, with inadequate space for teach-

ing. Situated in the heart of the town, it is subject to noise and has no room for expansion.

Before the first batch of students were to enter clinical training, in July 1980, the woeful state of affairs was pointed out and the need for a New Teaching Hospital, close to the Medical Faculty building (as obtains in Colombo, Peradeniya and Galle) at Tinnevely was stressed. Nothing was done for a long time.

In December 1980, at a Conference, chaired by the G.A. and attended by a U.D.A. expert, Hospital Committee, University Staff and Consultants and Administrators of the hospital, it was agreed in principle that a New Hospital, should

be built at Tinnevely. The U.D.A. expert who visited Tinnevely, declared it as the ideal site.

The only suitable site without recourse to acquisition of private land, was the Farm School, which was to close and move to Mirusivil or Kilinochchi. The establishment of an Agriculture Faculty further strengthened, this decision.

When the Hon. Minister of Health visited Jaffna in March 1981, he was appraised of the need for the Hon. Minister of Agriculture to be approached for the release of the land and further the obtaining of Foreign Aid for the building of the New Hospital. At a meeting, in the Nurses Training School, attended among others by

the Secretary/Health and the D.H.S. the Hon. Minister declared that, he shall build a New Hospital, during his tenure of office. But Alas, nothing has happened since; many letters sent, received no reply. Meanwhile, the second batch of students, have started clinical training and pandemonium prevails. Even the Faculty building, has not been completed, thanks to the Contractors.

It is pertinent to recall that at the laying of the foundation stone for the Sri Jayawardene Hospital, the President remarked, that he preferred a hospital as the gift because Lord Buddha, considered the relief of suffering of mankind as most meritorious. Did Lord Buddha, differentiate between ethnic groups? Are the minorities not entitled to Foreign Aid? These are questions, only the Dharmista Govt can answer.

A doctor

Balangoda.

Dear Editor,

### LET US HAVE A PEACEFUL & NON-VIOLENT POLLS

Manifestations of religious conflicts and mutual fears make it imperative during this "Election Year" to proclaim to every person and to every religious and political group the necessity of agreeing that the Elections must be peaceful and non-violent. Religious groups need not have mutual suspicion and fear.

In Sri Lanka the four main religions have co-existed for centuries. Each religion proclaims that all religions are good and offers to its followers the full freedom to change one's own religion.

Lord Buddha wants his followers to examine what he says and proposes and leaves them fully free to choose and accept or reject what he says. He too following the Hindu tradition preached AHIMSA, non-violence.

Fanaticism is a quality opposed to both Hinduism and Buddhism.

The duty to protect one's own rights is accompanied by the duty to protect the rights of others. That's an essential manifestation of true religion.

Elections cannot be allowed to turn into RELIGIOUS AND/OR RACIAL CONFLICTS. To avoid such disaster, one has to mobilize all the possible energies and tendencies NOW. The first manifestations of religious and racial hatred are already too alarming. Let the NEW YEAR be an occasion to renew the resolution to have peaceful, non-violent elections, accepting as our heritage—the multi-religious and racial diversity of the nation.

Pio Ciampa, SJ.

Annamalai Road,  
Suthumalai,  
Manipay,  
31-03-1982.

Dear Sir,

### SINHALA-TAMIL AND TAMIL-SINHALA DICTIONARIES.

It is a pity, as well as a wonder, to note that there are no authoritative standard Sinhala-Tamil and Tamil-Sinhala Dictionaries available, even after such a long time since the formation of the Official Language Dept., Cultural Dept., etc., etc.

Will it be too much to expect a Government Agency to take any initiative in the matter?

Yours truly,  
A. Santhan.

## HOW IS THIS WEEK FOR YOU ?



(April 11 — April 17)

S. Ratnarajah

### MESHA—ARIES.

Caution required during the first three days of the week as there is "chandra ashtamana". Unnecessary worry and displeasure with friends and relations are likely to occur. The setback during the first part of the week will be made good by peaceful and happy events during the latter part. Business and professional prosperity and happiness indicated.

### RISHABA—TAURUS.

The Hindu New Year starts with "chandra astamana" to you. Avoid indulging in controversial matters and try to keep your temper under control. Progress in business and profession indicated after pain of mind and enemy machinations. Success will be yours but you will have to pay dearly by way of mental strain. Be careful of your health.

### MITHUNA—GEMINI

An ideal week for business and professional progress. Speculative luck and financial gains indicated. Relations and friends will come to your aid. Superiors and government officials will stretch a point to help you. Family harmony and peace will give you additional enthusiasm to work hard. Financial gains indicated.

### KATAKA—CANCER.

Change for the better is indicated in profession and success in business ventures. New investments can be made. Social activities will engage most of your time. Children and younger brothers will bring you happiness by their sudden progress in studies and profession. Minor upsets in the family. Better to keep your temper.

### SINHA—LEO.

A progressive week in business and profession. Minor upsets and disharmony in family circle. Hidden enemies will try confidence tricks on you, take care. Heavy expenses will

be incurred in social activities. You cannot enjoy peace of mind this week.

### KANYA—VIRGO.

Exercise caution as you are liable to meet with accidents. For some, health will be impaired. Upsets in place of work and superiors will not appreciate your work. There will be lot of impediments for your progress. Good people and people who really matter will be a source of encouragement and help during your difficult times.

### THULA—LIBRA

An excellent week for enjoyment. Business turnover and professional achievements will give you encouragement. Short journeys will be undertaken. Family harmony and peace of mind will be enjoyed. Speculative luck and financial gains are indicated.

### VRICHKA—SCORPIO.

Most of your time will be occupied in combating the evil designs of hidden enemies. In the professional and business fields progress is indicated. Speculative luck and sudden financial gains in business are indicated. Peace and harmony in the family will prevail. Changes or purchase of vehicles or acquisition of property are indicated. New year will bring luck.

### DHANU—SAGGITARIUS.

A week of mixed results. Your mind will be worried unaccountably. Friends and relations will find fault with you. Unexpected profits can be reaped in business ventures and for some, unexpected promotion after strong opposition from enemies. Take care of your health.

### MAKARA—CAPRICORN

Social activities, heavy expenditure and unnecessary friction in the family. Things will move smoothly in the official and business circles. Changes of purchasing properties and second-hand vehicles. Superiors will be helpful. In your dealings with members of the opposite sex, exercise caution.

### KUMBA—AQUARIUS.

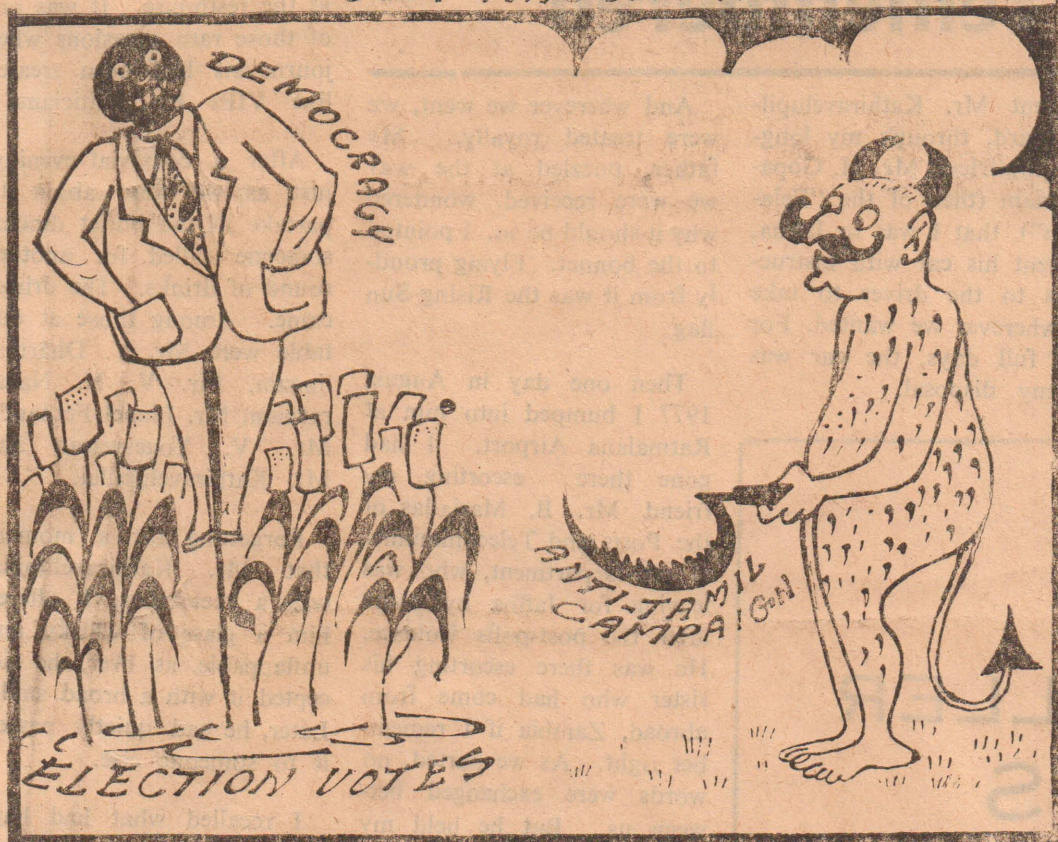
Unless you are careful you will have unexpected troubles and loss in business and in the professional spheres. Beware of accidents. Superiors will be helpful but evil forces will predominate. Invoke the blessing of God to minimise the evil results. Be careful of stomach complaints.

### MEENA—PISCES.

A good week for business investments and interviews. Minor disappointments will be experienced in professional matters. A happy and contented life in the domestic sphere. Journeys will be undertaken with success. Be careful of your belongings while in transit. Theft or loss is indicated. You are also prone to accidents this week.



## OUR HAUGHTY CULTURE



# COCK & BULL

The Rotarians of Jaffna have an interesting project—shooting at Mango trees with pesticide guns during this flowering season. The Lions are also thinking on these lines on Tamarind trees. Talking of pollution, a gentleman farmer of Kondaville told the SR that Palmyra would be the only tree spared of Insecticides or fertilisers. Even Rotarians and lions would find it difficult to reach them.

★ ★ ★

Any one noticed the 100 metre dash at the OPD General Hospital Jaffna, at six in the morning? Contestants include weak hearts, expectant mothers and emaciated skinnies. Prizes are given by attendants in the form of numbers on paper certificates to be later handed on to Medical Specialists.

★ ★ ★

Last Friday a leading Bank in the city was crowded with ladies with funny hair-do's long-haired youth sporting bells plus love-leather piece or some peace symbol at places which catches the eye and of course the bald-heads. Money & money—all forms of money which smell of petrol, camel, kangaroo, and shark fins, are cashed and deposited. The day being a Friday gave an atmosphere of a temple on festive days. The Jaffna Gram sellers association has passed a resolution to do their own

## The Jaffna Scene

by  
Nanny  
Goat

business at banks instead of temples on Fridays.

This hard-earned money sent by our sons and nephews who are longing for a good bath and thosai feed seem to be ending up in Arrack fumes, Honda smoke or Bristol smoke.

At Kokuville the management of Free Finance Freeze Ltd. (estd. in 1870 by M/s Sellathamby Brothers) has offered attractive terms to depositors. FFF Ltd will give 80% interest (minimum) and 120% interest at maturity. Money multiplying will certainly help our sons, nephews or cousins when they come here for a bath and thosai feed. Surely they will be back for good when oil goes dry or some bright Jap shows a way of using Lunar energy tapped on full moon day.

★ ★ ★

Traffic Cops in this part of the island get an urge to work only one day in six months and rest for next bi-annual period. Motor cyclists accustomed to passive cops virtually forget the 'hell-mets'. Then one fine day Traffic cops get the urge and pounce on hell-met-less motor cyclists. On the spot fines imposed and be damned. My friend had a narrow shave from traffic cop on Main Street near railroad crossing opposite the Convent. It was after sun-down and there were no street lights on. Raja was stopped by a Traffic cop. While the cop

was asking Raja about the missing hell-met, a bevy of girls riding bicycles at least six abreast (after a tuition class) almost collided on Raja and the cop. They did not have lights on bicycles. The cop was aghast. "Where are your lights" he exclaimed. The girls about twenty or thirty in number giggled all at the same time, young cop blushed. He forgot Raja and took off.

"Jaime mon grand papa bokku" exclaimed a little girl hugging and kissing her bewildered grandfather. There is no language communication between the little mademoiselle and the old man. She was born in Paris to expatriate Tamil parents. They came to Jaffna on a holiday.

In another house two children from Italy were talking Italian to their Jaffna cousins. It is common to hear London cockney, American and Australian English in Jaffna. But not Arabic-Arabia takes only men-only work and not breeding permitted in the deserts.

"Why cannot these Tamil parents talk to their children in Tamil in their own homes?" said a cynic. More often these expatriate parents reply that they leave the children at a nearby Nursery and go to work. Hardly any time available to spend with children. But there are a few who get their mothers or mothers-in-law to do baby sitting.

Some ladies in their ripe old age develop wings and take off to U.K., Continent and America. They go as Nannies to be encased in a room with their grandchildren. If it is winter it is worse for them.

## Buddhism in peril says Y. M. B. A. organ

"The time has come for all Sinhala Buddhists to unite and repel the forces that threaten to destroy the (Buddha) Sasana in this country", says the Editorial in THE BUDDHIST, the organ of the Colombo Young Men's Buddhist Association, in its latest issue dated March-April 1982. The Editorial has been written by Queen's Counsel and head of the Editorial Board, Mr. Siri Perera.

"The bond between Buddhism and the Sinhala people has been so strong that one cannot survive without the other. The day that the Sinhala people lose their pre-eminent positions in Sri Lanka, that will be the day that Sasana of the Buddha will disappear from this country. Therefore, any threat to the Sasana is likewise a threat to the Sinhala people and the converse is equally true.

"That there is now an imminent peril to the Sasana is seen beyond all doubt by the fact that a responsible minister of the present Government has published

under his name a book entitled "Sihaluni, Budusana Beraganiw" meaning "Sinhala People, Save the Buddha Sasana". This is a live danger that has to be met and repelled. For this purpose the Sinhala people have to be united and strong."

"Sad to say, our people are divided by the craving for political power, which craving is one of the most vicious forms of "thanha", craving. Some people are even prepared to sacrifice their own country, race, language and religion to gain this power. It is not unknown that towards that end lying, cheating, bribery, misleading and even murder are committed. Such deluded people do not see the peril that threatens the Sasana.

"Here, comes to our mind the greatest national Sinhala Hero in all our history of thousands of years, the noble and fearless Dutugemunu but for whose valour and devotion to the Sasana and national well being the Sinhala people and the Buddha Sasana may not be adorning...this pearl of the Indian Ocean..."

## U. K. Police want the Death Penalty back

In an unusual move reflecting the growing official concern over the deteriorating law and order situation in the country, the Police Federation in London has called for the return of the death penalty for all types of murder.

Through a newspaper advertisement placed in five national dailies, the federation, representing 118,000 police officers, has urged the public to lobby MPs to press for the return of hanging, which was abolished 17 years ago.

What invests the police appeal with extraordinary significance is that it has followed the increasing clamour among right-wing Conservative MPs in support of their demand for strong-arm methods to check rising crime. Ironically, the appeal studiously avoids mentioning what is THE BASIC REASON FOR THE SHARP RISE — THE GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT, WHICH HAS CROSSED THE THREE MILLION MARK.

After last summer's inter-city riots in London and elsewhere, the police demanded and got potent, and in some cases lethal, apparatus for riot control, including water cannons, plastic bullets and armoured cars. Apparently not quite satisfied with this, they have opened the campaign for the return of capital punishment.

The fresh police appeal says that the number of robberies in Greater London increased last year by 48 per cent and that firearms were carried in 1,415 cases compared with 767 in the previous year. Other cities reported similar increases in violent criminal offences.

Just before the appeal was made, the metropolitan police made a break with tradition by giving a breakdown of crime on the basis of the colour of the offender. The figures were meant to show that blacks were far more responsible for muggings than whites. Here too the economic factor was also conveniently ignored.



# S. Kathiravelupillai remembered

by Gamini Navaratne

Mr. S. Kathiravelupillai, whose first death anniversary was a little over a week ago, was someone whom I cannot easily forget. I had met him on a number of occasions as a journalist, both in Colombo and Jaffna. Out

of these meetings was born one of my most treasured friendships.

From my memory bank, I should like to recall three incidents concerning him.

Once I brought my parents on a visit to Nagadipa. The

moment Mr. Kathiravelupillai heard, through my long-standing friend Mr. M. Gopalaratnam (then of the "Eelannadu"), that I was in Jaffna, he sent his car with instructions to the driver to take us wherever we wanted. For two full days, the car was at my disposal.

And wherever we went, we were treated royally. My father, puzzled at the way we were received, wondered why it should be so. I pointed to the bonnet. Flying proudly from it was the Rising Sun flag.

Then one day in August 1977 I bumped into him at Ratmalana Airport. I had gone there escorting my friend Mr. B. Mariadas of the Posts and Telecommunications Department, who was leaving for Jaffna by plane after the post-polls violence. He was there escorting his sister who had come from abroad, Zambia if I remember right. As we parted, no words were exchanged between us. But he held my hand firmly for a long moment in a handshake that expressed his feelings more eloquently than any words.

I met him later in much happier circumstances. On the initiative of the then Government Agent of Jaffna Mr. Lionel Fernando, journalists from the South were invited to the North as part of an effort to build bridges between the two communities. This was in March 1979. It was the first time in the 175-year history of journalism in Sri Lanka that such a mission had been organised. I was privileged to be a member of that mission.

Our final engagement in Jaffna was a reception to us

by the MPs of the North at the resthouse. It was one of those rare occasions when journalists had been treated like VIPs by politicians.

After a convivial evening, just as we were about to partake of the buffet dinner, someone called for another round of drinks. The drinks came. Among those at our table were Mr. V. Dharmalingam, Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, Mr. Lionel Fernando, Mr. V. Yogeswaran and Mr. Kathiravelupillai.

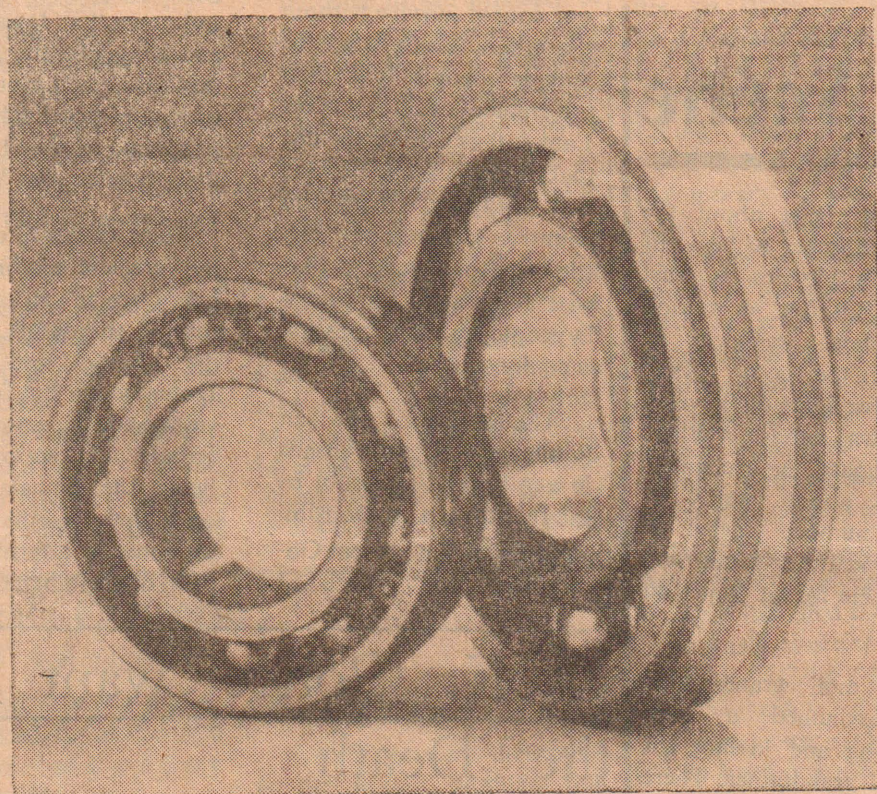
Forgetting for a moment that Mr. Kathiravelupillai was a teetotaler, I offered him a glass of whisky and unflappable as ever, he accepted it with a broad smile. Later, he had quietly passed it to someone else.

I recalled what had happened only the next day when Mr. Yogeswaran playfully chided me for having tried to "convert" Mr. Kathiravelupillai.

During some of my encounters with him, we had many an argument about Sinhala-Tamil relations. He stated his views frankly, without the equivocation displayed by some Tamil leaders of today. He had come to accept the inevitability of the eventual separation of the two communities, that it was too late for any negotiated settlement.

He was a rare man — a great man—who at all times stood by his people. They need more of his kind in these turbulent times.

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## NEWS BRIEFS

### "COME, SETTLE DOWN IN VAVUNIYA"

"Come and settle down in the Vavuniya District. Let's build a new society there." This was the call made by Dr. S. Rajasundaram, Secretary of the Gandhiam Society, at a meeting held at Trimmer Hall, Jaffna, on 3 April to propagate the ideals and objectives of the Society.

### "LET'S SAFEGUARD OUR TERRITORY"

"The most important thing in the present context is to safeguard our traditional homelands" said Vavuniya M P, T. Sivasithamparam when he presided over a meeting held at the Vavuniya Esplanade, to commemorate the 84th birth anniversary of the Tamil Leader S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, and the 1st death anniversary of the Kopay M P, S. Kathiravelupillai.

### BOOK ON TAMIL GRAMMAR RELEASED

Some Aspects of Tamil Language and Grammar, a book written in Tamil by Dr. A. Sanmugasadas, Head of the Dept., of Languages and Cultural Studies, University of Jaffna, was formally released on 29th March at a meeting held at the Nallur Atheenam. Jaffna University Vice-Chancellor S. Vithiananthan presided. The book is the fifth publication of the Muthamil Veliyeetu Kazhagam.

### M. P. OBJECTS TO CHANGE OF SITE

Kopay M P, M. Alalasundaram has objected to the Industrial Development Board's decision to site the proposed Central Institute of Technology (to be built with foreign aid) at Anuradhapura, instead of Jaffna as planned earlier.

### Vavuniya District Council Wants Museum to Reflect Non-Buddhist Styles too

The Vavuniya District Development Council wants the Cultural Museum being built at Vavuniya Kachcheri junction to reflect not merely Buddhist architectural styles but also other indigenous styles, particularly Dravidian.

### ENT CLINIC FUNCTIONS AGAIN

The Jaffna General Hospital's ENT Clinic—closed down suddenly last month—has begun functioning again, with make shift arrangements, twice a week.

### THONDAMAN PROMISES TO SOLVE REFUGEES' PROBLEMS

Minister of Rural Industrial Development S. Thondaman has promised to solve the problems, especially landlessness, facing hill country Tamil Refugees, re-settled in Vavu-

niya after the 1977 and 1981 violence. He gave this assurance at a conference held at the Vavuniya Kachcheri on 1 April.

### SWIMMING LESSONS FOR GIRLS

Several young girls in the North have begun to learn swimming under a programme started by the Ministry of Sports. The first training class was held on 30th March at Vellaikadatkari, Velanai. A large number of girls from Velanai, Kopay, Nallur and Kayts have joined the training classes.

### LOAN RECOVERIES PUT OFF

The recovery of overdue loans from farmers have been put off till April '83, following orders from the top. This will give some relief to farmers in Jaffna, Vavuniya and Mannar, already badly hit by the prolonged drought.

### SOAP FACTORY FOR NAINATIVU

The Ministry of Rural Development will aid the Nainativu Women's Society to start a soap factory at Nainativu.

### MANNAR FISHERMEN TO APPEAL AGAINST ORDER

Mannar fishermen have decided to appeal against arbitrator S. J. M. G. S. Muttunayake's judgement that migrant fishermen from outside the area should have the right to carry on fishing in the sea off Mannar and Talaimannar.

### POLICEMEN IN NORTH WANT TRANSFERS

The number of policemen wanting to be transferred out of the North has increased, according to official sources.

## Trichy incident: complaint against Air Lanka

An allegation of under-hand, under-the-counter dealing has been levelled by three Sri Lankan passengers against the Trichy Airport Air Lanka Traffic Officer.

The passengers — S. Selvanayagam, T. H. Vincent Peiris and Mrs. Vincent Peiris — state that their names had been included a week earlier for the 27 February Air Lanka afternoon flight from Trichy to Colombo. Their tickets too had been okayed.

But, they allege, they were told by the Trichy Airport

Air Lanka Traffic Officer, on the day of the flight, that only first class accommodation was available and they would have to pay 51 dollars more if they didn't want to miss that flight. Otherwise, they would have to wait till 2 March for seats.

The three passengers had no alternative but to pay up, as they did not want to miss the 27th flight.

They have written to the Chairman of Air Lanka pressing for an immediate inquiry to be held into the matter.

## Jointly organised Prayer meeting

The Prayer meeting held in memory of the late Tamil leaders S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and S. Kathiravelupillai at the Chelvanayakam memorial site on 31 March (a report of which was published on Page 12 of SATURDAY REVIEW of

April 3), was jointly organised by the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust and the Non-Violent Direct Action Group (NVDAG) of Chavakachcheri, according to Mr. Jeevagathas, Secretary of the NVDAG.

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# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## NEWS MAKERS

Wilson:

### The role of an intermediary

Recently, the readers of a modest 4 page bilingual Christian weekly in Jaffna, "The Morning Star", were treated to a little pleasant surprise. In its issue of March 12 appeared the first small instalment of what looked like a series of articles under the headline "THE ROLE OF AN INTERMEDIARY: RACIAL STRIFE IN SRI LANKA. The author? A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, University of New Brunswick.

But what was startling was not the 75 lines of text, but the 9 lines of forbidding Keep-off-the-grass like warning at the end. It said: "World copyright strictly reserved. No reproduction of this article is

permitted. No section of it can be reproduced for the purpose of quoting in any other article in any other journal. No translation of the article or any part of it in any language is permitted."

The next issue of the paper - the March 19th issue - carried another instalment. And that was that. The next issue - March 26 carried nothing of the Wilson memoirs. The paper does not offer any explanation either.

SATURDAY REVIEW learns that the publishers of "The Morning Star" have been instructed to cease publication of the series forthwith.

### Dictatorship is round the corner, says Don

The Parliamentary system is not going to survive in Sri Lanka. The country is on the verge of a one-party dictatorship or, in the alternative, the dictatorship of a single individual.

This was Professor Wiswa Warnapala's bleak conclusion at the end of a talk (topic: Parliamentary System in Sri Lanka—Will It Survive?) he delivered at the South Asian Studies Seminar of the University of Jaffna, on 6 April.

Professor Warnapala of the Dept. of Political Science, University of Peradeniya, traced the beginning of the decline of the Parliamentary system in Sri Lanka to the United Left Front government which came into power in 1970. The difference, he said, between the ULF and the present government is that the former was a tyranny with a two-thirds majority

while the latter is an arrogant one with a five-sixths majority.

The decline, he said, is evident when one examines what has happened to the internal mechanisms of the Westminster model the country adopted at Independence. Standards of debate had declined so sharply that the term 'unparliamentary' has no meaning now, he pointed out. Important bills affecting the democratic rights of the people are rushed through, with little or no debate. The Cabinet system has become so diluted in the context of a Presidential system, he said, that the Westminster model is virtually dying off. We are, he declared, on the verge of a Presidential dictatorship, with Parliament reduced to being a mere talking shop. He warned that the proposed Home Guard Units could become a powerful tool in the hands of those who want to subvert democracy.

# Compensation unlikely, for Jaffna's 1981 victims

The victims of the violence unleashed in 1981, before and after the District Development Council Elections, will not receive any compensation this year, the SATURDAY REVIEW reliably learns.

The reason? Lack of funds.

When the government, in response to the Tamil United Liberation Front's demand for compensation, appointed the Lionel Fernando Committee to go into the victims' claims, it gave an assurance that compensation would be paid soon after the Committee submitted its report.

The Lionel Fernando Committee submitted its report

in January this year, recommending a total compensation of Rs. 25 million to be paid to 356 persons (including institutions).

After the report was handed over, the Government announced that compensation would be paid on the basis of priority; this didn't materialise.

Several Cabinet meetings have been held since the report was submitted; the latest, held on 6 April, didn't discuss the question of compensation at all, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands.

Knowledgeable sources say that the TULF is in a

very embarrassing position now as it had assured the victims of prompt payment of compensation once the report was submitted.

These sources also point out that it was after much pressure from the TULF Secretary-General and Leader of the Opposition, Appapillai Amirthalingam, that the Government promised a payment of Rs. 1 million to the Jaffna Public Library from the President's Fund; the Lionel Fernando Committee had recommended a compensation payment of Rs. 10 million to the Library, burnt down on the night of 1 June 1981, with its 95,000 odd volumes.

## HUSH - HUSH ACADEMIC CONFAB AT TRINCO!

Mystery shrouds a ten-day conference on 'Ethnicity and Politics' held at a posh tourist hotel in Trincomalee recently.

Though the mainstream media have kept mum about this hush-hush oceanic confab, speculation has been triggered off by the choice of strategically important Trincomalee as the venue, the identity of the sponsoring organisation and the political affiliation of the local participants.

The Conference was reportedly sponsored by the

Ford Foundation. Among the participants were several American professors, some of them top-notch military strategists, it is rumoured. As far as is known, the local participants were three pro-government Peradeniya academics, one of them flown down to Ceylon at Foundation expense from Manchester where he is on Sabbatical leave.

The question that intrigues observers is whether the conference did really discuss ethnic problems for ten days; if so, did a prominent intel-

lectual from the minority community, well known as a troubleshooter and honest broker for the Government, take part in the conference, they wonder.

The keenness of the Sri Lankan government to join ASEAN and to lease out the facilities at Trincomalee port makes it more than likely, according to these observers, that the real discussion at the conference centred on Sri Lanka's—especially Trincomalee's—possible role in President Reagan's scenario for a stepped-up American presence in the Indian Ocean.

## Believe it or not!

What is the age of retirement in the State sector? Fifty five years, with the possibility in some cases of going up to 60 with yearly ministerial sanction.

The only exceptions are judges of the Court of Appeal, whose age of retirement is 63 years, and judges of the Supreme Court, who can go up to 65

But in a certain statutory

board under the Finance Ministry, the Big Boss is now 67 years! How is this possible? Perhaps, he is indispensable? The job may require specialist skills?

Nothing of the sort. All that has to be done is to administer a fund which gives loans to those in distress. And almost anybody could do that kind of job.

What then is the secret of the Big Boss going on and on like Ole Man River? He has held the post for well nigh 25 years, perhaps a record in the State sector.

Representations have been made to the Finance Ministry against him alleging, among other things, abuse of power. But the Big Boss carries on regardless. How come?