

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

SNAP

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# ELECTIONS: ONE BEHIND THE OTHER?

## Viewpoint

That great interpreter of Art and Culture, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy quotes with approval in one of his books, a line from poet Blake:

"When nations grow cold  
The Arts grow cold  
And Commerce settles on every tree..."

On Monday evening, Commerce will settle on the chairs at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, when Indian danseuse Swarnamukhi dances to an audience composed on class lines. The upper crust of culture-crazy-capitalist connoisseurs of Bharata Natyam will pay Rs. 250/- for two seats and Rs. 100/- for every other seat, while some professional men and their families and maybe small shopkeepers occupying Municipal stalls might grab the Rs. 50/- seats. The Rs. 25/- seats will be reserved at the back of the hall as a concession for the masses who could afford it—for example, intellectuals, University Professors, academicians, men of learning and culture, students and lovers of Bharata Natyam!

We can anticipate the argument that is coming. It is all for a good cause, the organisers will say. Ofcourse the restoration of the Jaffna Public Library is a good cause, but it does not mean that bad means should be employed to boost good causes. Swarnamukhi does not belong to the world of business and commerce. She belongs to the world of Arts. Every Jaffna citizen is the proud inheritor of the ancient Indian heritage that is Bharata Natyam, and he has every right to expect any manifestation of that heritage to reach out to him—not shut him out.

Perhaps it is no use blaming anybody. The Values in life have changed. There was a time when every Madras thosai kadai waiter could make out one "Raga" from another in Carnatic music. Such was the nexus between culture and the common man.

Had the organisers used some imagination and shown some social responsibility, they could raise the same money by getting a hundred businessmen to underwrite the show, and through their benevolence serve an equally good cause: enable the people who **deserve** to see it, to see it. Perhaps this is also a pointer to what could happen in the "SOCIALIST state of Tamil Eelam" as envisaged in Vaddukoddai.

(From our Colombo Correspondent)

Political strategists of the United National Party have advised the leadership to hold the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in very quick succession as early as possible, the "Saturday Review" reliably learns.

The party leadership is confident that, with Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike out of the field and opposition unity still a long way off, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has a good chance of becoming the first elected President of Sri Lanka. (Now he holds the plum post through a constitutional device—Article 160 — which declared that he "shall be deemed for all purposes to have been elected as President....")

The Government's decision to amend the Constitution to advance the date of the Presidential poll was prompted by this confident assessment of the prospects of the party candidate.

The most talked about date in political circles in Colombo is some time in December, after the presentation of an "Election Budget".

But the party's political strategists have warned that

this would give "too much time" for the opposition parties to organise themselves. The prospects of an election might even make them bury their differences and come together to face what all of them agree is their "common enemy", the UNP.

They have also pointed out that last-minute reliefs, through salary increases, price reductions and the grant of jobs, may not work with the electorate.

According to these strategists, Mr. Jayewardene should order a Presidential election no sooner Parliament gives its stamp of approval to the contemplated amendments in August, taking advantage of the proposed new minimum period—three weeks—between the proclamation of an election and election day.

Then according to them, while the campaign for the Presidential poll is on, Mr. Jayewardene should dissolve Parliament and order a General election, also within three weeks, so that it could take place preferably within a week of each other.

Logistically, this would save much time, money and other resources, because the same staff and the same buildings and transport could be used for both elections.

Security-wise, too, this would have many advantages as arrangements would not have to be made twice over and there would not be too much time for any interested parties to create trouble in between the two elections.

But the biggest advantage, according to the strategists, is that the opposition parties would be in such a state of confusion and exhaustion after the Presidential poll that they would not be in a position to put up a good fight at the general election.

(Continued on page 12)

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**Tamils had long  
cultural contact  
with France,  
says Jaffna Mayor**

We the Tamils who live in more than twenty countries of the world and number seven hundred lakhs have had a long cultural contact with France. The Tamils of Pondichcheri, Trinidad, Mauritius and last but not the least in importance in this context, the Tamils of Reunion speak the French language very fluently. To all of them except the Tamils of Pondichcheri French has become the first language, said the Mayor of Jaffna Mr. Rajah Visuvanathan, speaking at a reception in honour of the Director General of the Alliance Francaise Mr. Gothier Willm and the Cultural Adviser of the French Embassy Mr. Andre Girard held at the Alliance Francaise de Jaffna last Saturday.

Mr. Visuvanathan said: "The Tamils of Reunion have achieved a special status. Reunion although situated in the Indian ocean yet politically remains to this day as a part of France and its people accepted as part and parcel of the French Community. The Tamils living in Reunion number one and a half lakhs out of a total population of five and a half lakhs. Since Reunion is politically a district of France the Tamils living there, like their Reunion brotheren, are entitled to all the civil rights

enjoyed by the French citizen. They even enjoy representation in the French Parliament. A prominent Tamil, an Attorney-at-Law, Mr. Veerapillai represented Reunion in 1979. But I do not know whether he is still there in the French Parliament now.

"The Franco-Thamoul Cultural Centre of Reunion has recently organised there a Tamil Radio station called Radio Kalaivarny at Sain Pierre which broadcasts daily Tamil programmes for five hours. Likewise in Paris, too you have the "Senthamil Osai" of Radio Soleil broadcasting Tamil programmes on Thursdays only. But both these services are meant for local listeners. I hope France which has signed a cultural agreement with India would explore the possibilities of mutual joint efforts to link "Radio Kalaivarny", "Senthamil Osai and Radio Pondichcheri in order to cater to a larger audience. This would also help in the propagation of the French language and benefit students who have already acquired rudimentary knowledge of the French language by giving them the opportunity of an ever present constant contact with that language.

The Mayor also appealed for the screening of more French films in Jaffna.

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That joke about a London book seller, when asked for a copy of Sri Lanka's Constitution, supposedly replying, "We don't sell Periodical publications!" will be no joke by the time the United National Party Government finishes tampering with the fundamental law of the land, a fundamental law of its own creation.

The joke began circulating when the Constitution, which its chief architect, Junius Richard Jayewardene, boasted would be a "model" to the world, was amended twice within six months of its proclamation on September 18, 1980, on both occasions on grounds of political expediency, not principle.

Now we have a whole crop of contemplated amendments to the Constitution as well as to the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Acts which taken together with several existing draconian laws, can have but only one outcome—the emergence of an autocratic one-party state. No one, not even Mr. Jayewardene, if he wants to, can reverse this course once the initial dangerous steps are taken.

It is like a huge boulder loosened from its moorings rolling down a mountain slope destroying everything in its path and finally coming to rest in the valley below, its fury exhausted, its surface splintered.

I say that the course contemplated by the Government, however differently its leaders might think, will assuredly lead to confrontation, conflict, destruction and misery all round. It is not going to result in the accelerated economic development based on free enterprise that the Government has set as its goal.

#### PRE-1977 POSTURE

Democracy is a form of government that has never been completely achieved anywhere, not even in the little city state of Athens, because it is impossible to bestow on the whole body of citizens the control over all their affairs. So was gradually evolved the principle of representation, through elections, the only method by which a country could be democratically governed.

Today we have a large number of governments which call themselves "democratic", but even a cursory examination would reveal that in most of them the spirit of democracy does not pervade the form, because the basic requirement, free and fair elections, is absent.

Reading through a number of Mr. Jayewardene's speeches in the pre-1977 era, I find that he then firmly believed that there could be no democracy without free and fair elections.

Just as there are various kinds of "socialism", some people seem to think that there could be various kinds or degrees of democracy.

# Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

Mr. Jayewardene then was not one of them because what he admired those days was democracy as practised in countries like Britain, the United States of America and Japan, not the type that prevails in countries like Chile, South Korea, Taiwan, Palestine and Singapore.

After 1977, Mr. Jayewardene has repeatedly spoken of his firm commitment to democracy, but there has been an ever-widening divergence between word and deed.

#### WAYS OF DICTATORSHIP

Most absent has been what he had cherished most earlier namely, uninhibited, robust and wide-open debate on public issues; instead, many of his Government's actions have been characterised by haste, secrecy and authoritarianism.

Remember how his lawyers

or coloured by personal or party loyalty, power or money, or other considerations.

Because attempts continue to be made by Government spokesmen to prove especially to the outside world that Sri Lanka is still a "democracy", with all the fundamental freedoms intact, it is necessary to set the record straight.

The 1972 Constitution proclaimed by Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike's Government was criticised by Mr. Jayewardene and others because it did not fully guarantee the fundamental rights enshrined in it and these fundamental rights could be restricted for a number of reasons and the courts were powerless to intervene. But the impressive array of rights listed in the 1978 Constitution, save those relating to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to torture, can also be restricted

provisions of the repealed Criminal Justice Commissions Law), and the Essential Services Act and the Anti-Terrorist Act (which have made a number of provisions of the Public Security Ordinance part of the normal law of the land).

For the elevation of the executive above the legislature and the courts, the insistence on political orthodoxy while at the same time suppressing opinion unfavourable to it and the general exaltation of the state through the investment of the leader with sacrosanct majesty are the ways of dictatorship every where, never the ways of democracy.

#### ENDS AND MEANS

In a lecture on "Buddhism and Marxism" before the Ceylon University Buddhist Brotherhood in 1950, Mr. Jayewardene pointed out that those who accept and follow

end justified the means.

That was then. Now he appears to me to have come round to the view that the end he visualises for Sri Lanka—no doubt a vibrant economy and a prosperous and happy people—justifies the means.

The means in Mr. Jayewardene's scheme of things must necessarily include the elimination of all forms of political opposition, for with the opposition as presently constituted it appears difficult to complete the Government development programme—despite the UNP's five-sixths Parliamentary majority. He may deny that such is his intention, but a number of steps already taken and the contemplated constitutional changes will inevitably and inexorably reduce the opposition to impotence.

What really amazes me is how such a self-proclaimed lover of democracy and an upholder of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary as he, could on occasion act in so contrary a manner.

#### FIRST AMENDMENT

Take the First Amendment to the Constitution. The

# Tinkering with the constitution: The outcome could be dangerous!

Special Presidential Commission was proceeding against the ex-Prime Minister when in September 1978 she filed an application in the Court of Appeal for a writ of prohibition.

On 15th September, 1978 (according to the state-controlled "Ceylon Daily News" report the next day), Mr. Jayewardene said that "if the courts hold that the law in regard to the Special Presidential Commission was bad, the Government will abide by the verdict and stop the proceedings. He was speaking at a function at the Vidyodaya Pirivena, Maligakande. He added that the Government would not interfere with the Judiciary...."

On 9th November, the Court held that the Commission had no jurisdiction to inquire into, or report on, or make recommendations in relation to Mrs. Bandaranaike's administration from 1970 to 1977 since it was a period prior to the date of enactment of the law in question.

(Continued overleaf)

fought valiantly against the Press Council Law in 1973, quoting copiously from some famous judgments of the U.S. Supreme Court? In one case, the judge held that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution "presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritarian selection. To many, this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staken upon it our all...."

But when it came to devising the new Constitution, all these high ideals seem to have been forgotten. It was passed in haste, with the barest of public discussion. That is why the Government has been compelled to amend it again and yet again, thereby becoming the laughing stock among people in Sri Lanka and abroad whose vision has not been dimmed

and have been restricted on occasion—for the very same reasons as under the displaced Constitution. The courts have not been able to grant any relief even when a right that could not be restricted—"No person shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel, degrading or humiliating treatment or punishment—had been blatantly violated by the security forces on a number of occasions!

Political opponents claimed that Mr. Jayewardene's Constitution, which provided for a strong executive by devaluing the power of Parliament and the Judiciary, would result in a dictatorship in all but name. This is what actually exists in Sri Lanka today, when consideration is also had of several retroactive and repressive laws like the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Act (which virtually brought back the

the teachings of Karl Marx cannot at the same time accept and follow the teachings of the great religious teachers such as the Buddha, Christ or Mohamed...."

To quote a few lines from the printed script, he said that Marx, unlike the Buddha, "emphasises the economic structure that surrounds man. Change that structure and man automatically changes. His disciples, therefore, are not interested in changing the nature or the mind of man. The morality of human existence is of no concern to them. Ethical conduct is despised; the means that are used to achieve the end, which is the change of the economic structure, is immaterial...."

By highlighting this aspect of Marxism, Mr. Jayewardene was saying that, as a Buddhist, he did not subscribe to the view that the



## Political Causerie

(Continued)

Then on 14th November, Mr. Jayewardene told the members of the Bambalapitiya Flats Welfare Association that the Commission would continue its work.

On 20th November, the U.N.P. using its steamroller majority rushed two Bills through Parliament, one declaring the Courts' verdict null and void, and the other amending the constitution so that the Court of Appeal was stripped of its writ powers of in so far as a Special Presidential Commissions are concerned.

The Commission continued its work and on 25th September, 1980 found Mrs. Bandaranaike "guilty" of a number of charges and recommended that she be deprived of her civic rights.

When the Government gave notice of a motion in Parliament for this purpose, Mrs. Bandaranaike filed a petition in the Supreme Court seeking protection of her fundamental rights.

On 16th October 1980, while the matter was pending before the Court, the Government rushed through two resolutions, one stripping her of civic rights for seven years and the other expelling her from Parliament. The next day, two Bills were also rammed through the House which prohibited her from canvassing for, or acting as agent of, or speaking on behalf of, a candidate or participating in an election.



R. Premadasa

The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa said during the debate that even if the Supreme Court held that the findings of the Commission were not valid, the two resolutions would not be repealed!

The Court finally held that it was prevented under the law from reviewing the findings of a Special Presidential Commission and so was unable to inquire into the fundamental rights issue raised by Mrs. Bandaranaike.

### SECOND AMENDMENT

In early 1979, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party expelled a M.P. and, under the proportional representation



Mrs. Bandaranaike

It would serve to regularise what many jurists have considered was an "irregularity" Mr. Jayewardene was not elected President directly by the PEOPLE of Sri Lanka, as required under Article 30 (2) of the Constitution, but was, under the transitional provision in Article 160, "deemed for all purposes to have been elected as the President."

But the proposed provisions to penalise candidates "making use of a person who had lost civic rights" (thereby making Mrs. Bandaranaike a "political leper"), to enable the President to dissolve Parliament twice in the first year (so that he could get rid

# Who says 'free and fair' elections?

of a hostile parliamentary majority) and to provide for floor-crossings after elections (ostensibly for the purpose of ensuring a "stable government") are indefensible because they are undemocratic.

system, his seat would have become vacant, enabling the party to nominate a successor, unless the Supreme Court held that the expulsion was invalid. But in February 1979, the Constitution was amended to make Parliament the final authority to decide on expulsions and the M.P. in question was welcomed into the fold of the U.N.P.!

The effect of the amendment, which stipulated that any resolution to expel a member would require 85 votes, was that it encouraged defections from the opposition to the Government.

All these actions were directed against Mr. Jayewardene's chief political rival and her party. One would have expected that he would rest satisfied with these "achievements". But no, he apparently wants to use the U.N.P. parliamentary juggernaut to crush her and her party for ever.

I have been a vehement critic of Mrs. Bandaranaike's regime—and suffered for it. But I must say that what the Government contemplates doing now, to her and her party, through the new constitutional changes, goes against all canons of decency in political behaviour.

There is a more sinister aspect to all this, for the combined effect of the changes would be to deprive the PEOPLE of Sri Lanka the opportunity to elect a government of their choice. How can anyone in the Government talk of "free and fair elections" after the proposed changes are made?

Of the contemplated amendments, none could cavil at the advancement of the date of the presidential election

tremendous pressure from Western aid-givers and investors, led by the Reagan Administration, to ensure, at all costs, that Sri Lanka is not lost to the "Free World" through the emergence of a regime hostile to their political

I am here reminded of two sayings. "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely!" "Those whom the Gods want to destroy, they first make them mad!"

### Pressure

from Western

aid-givers?

That is by the way. Why is the Government going to act in the proposed manner? A clear case of fright, many people would say. Defeat is something that none who has tasted power would like to experience, if he or she could avert it. And defeat for the U.N.P. appears a probability if free and fair elections were held.

My own conviction is that the U.N.P. leaders are under

and economic interests and designs.

As I said in a previous issue (Saturday Review, March 13, 1982), "Make no mistake, the U.N.P. will exploit every trick in the political game to retain power for as long as possible. Also make no mistake that it will be backed by all those forces, in Sri Lanka and abroad, who wish to see this country remain a 'democracy' of the Singaporean, South Korean, Taiwan and Pakistan model!"

But there is another saying "Man proposes, God disposes!" This is what the U.N.P. leaders should remember as they go about cutting and chopping their own Constitution—changing the rules of the game in mid-play, as it were—to entrench and perpetuate their rule.

If they want to persist in

their dangerous course, I have one suggestion to make. Please bring in another amendment to the Constitution deleting the words "SOCIALIST" and "DEMOCRATIC" from the official name of Sri Lanka.

## The Media Scene

One of the most shameful episodes in Sri Lanka's journalistic world took place recently when the Editor-in-Chief of a state-owned newspaper group, a very senior and respected journalist, was remanded on a complaint of bribery which later was found to be a fabrication.

In the general run, when a complaint is made to the Bribery Commissioner's Department, it checks on the bona fides of the complaint before initiating action.

In this case, this procedure was not followed. Why? The Department had reportedly been given the impression that since the institution in question is under the President, the President himself wanted prompt and stern action to be taken.

From what the "Saturday Review" has been able to gather, this is what appears to have happened:

An employee in the institution was looking for a job for his daughter. The minor employee promised to help him, by speaking to the

## Editor becomes a victim of his own tribe!

journalist, and asked for and obtained Rs. 1,200.

The employee had spoken about a job, but time passed, and there was no job; nor was the money returned.

The man who gave the money began grumbling and the story got round the office. Some one informed an official in the President's office and then things began to move fast.

This official had served as a journalist in a number of newspapers but was never able to get along with most of his colleagues. So including the institution in question unpopular and unsavoury was his style of operation that he was nicknamed "Kakka" (Crow).

In his present assignment though he is low down in the official hierarchy, he is said to describe himself as one of the "President's Men"!

He contacted the Bribery Commissioner's Department which, apparently without much checking, moved against the journalist. To the latter, who did not know about the money transaction, it came as a bolt from the blue to be

suddenly taken before a magistrate and remanded. Next day, he was bailed out—but the damage had been done.

When representation were made to the President, the C.I.D. was called in. Investigations revealed that the minor employee had indeed taken the money—for his personal use. He reportedly confessed that the complaint was a fabrication, made at the instance of some officials in the institution—aided by the "Kakka".

The journalist is back at his job, his name fully cleared. Will those involved in this episode be adequately punished?

The whole thing is a sad commentary on how the Bribery Commissioner's Department functions; more on how persons are selected to important positions in the President's Office.

What is still worse, there were hardly any protests about the action taken against the journalist from members of his profession either individually or as a body. On the other hand, at least two of his colleagues had applied for the "vacant" post!





## The Punithavathy Tiruchelvam Memorial Lecture

delivered at the Sri Lanka Tamil Women's Union, Kalalayam, Colombo on 18th May '82

(Continued from last issue)

Swami Vipulananda who had returned to Ceylon in 1924 as a monk of the Ramakrishna order took an active part in the proceedings of the Congresses. In fact the Swami delivered the Presidential address at the sessions in 1928. What is to be observed in this connection is that as a result of the prominence given to Tamil language and literature in the programme of the Youth Congress the beginning of a fusion between politics and language began to manifest itself. Its implications became evident somewhat later. Needless to say the activities of the Congress gave a positive fillip to creativity in literature.

The pattern of development seen in the case of the Tamil language was paralleled in the case of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, characterized as the indigenous religious thought of the Tamils. Following the early lead given by Navalar in restoring its prestige and strength numerous associations sprung in different parts to foster it. Reference has already been made to the Jaffna Saiva Paripalana Sabha.

In South India the Saiva Siddhanta Samajam was founded in 1905. Hitherto the Mutts or Saiva monasteries were the sole custodians of Saiva religion and philosophy. But now laymen considered it their bounden duty to preserve them. The Samajam became the association par excellence for the propagation of Saiva Siddhanta and several prominent Tamils from Sri Lanka took a leading part in its activities: distinguished Sri Lankans were often invited to deliver lectures at the Samajam and also presided over its annual sessions. (Sir P. Ramanathan presided over the first annual conference of the Samajam.) J. M. Nallaswami Pillai was closely associated with the Samajam.

This twin interest in Language and religion was carried over to Malaya and Singapore by the Tamil expatriates. They quickly formed Associations and clubs that were replicas of socio-cultural Institutions in their homeland. In doing so they not only kept alive their ethnic and cultural identities in an alien environment, but in turn, were also able to contribute substantially to the strengthening of efforts and Institutions here by rendering financial and other forms of assistance,

which they were in an advantageous position to offer owing to their relative prosperity. While their remittances to their kith and kin contributed considerably towards their upliftment, their subscriptions and donations to public causes, sustained and stimulated various cultural activities.

Often, Tamil scholars, publicists and artistes were invited on lecture tours and public performance which enhanced their pecuniary position. A number of books both creative and expository were published in Malaya itself. Likewise books published here found their way to the Malay States. I have seen such comings and goings in my childhood in Kuala Lumpur.

On the whole the moral and financial support given

# The Cultural and Linguistic Consciousness of the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka — 4

by

Doctor K. Kailasapathy

finned to a few conspicuous areas: being backward looking in its orientation, the middle class sought to revive and cultivate certain features of the Tamil culture that had become part of the established order in the old society. Insofar as language was concerned, the zeal for **Sen-Thamil**, "Cultured Tamil" or "Classical Tamil" which for all practical purposes was moribund, (although Sir P. Ramanathan and his son-in-law and political successor S. Natesan created a vogue for speaking in the classical style) was the basis for the founding of societies and the holding of conferences.

**Bharata Natyam** and **Carnatic Music** were the two forms that came to be considered the necessary artistic acquirements for a cultured Tamil girl. Both were extolled as "Tamilian arts and

Likewise **Carnatic music** had been brought from the court and temple to the concert hall and along with the dance form acclaimed as divine arts. Thus we see that Tamil language, **Bharata Natyam** and **Carnatic music** were deified and thereby denied of experimentation and innovation. It goes without saying that considerable affluence was the precondition for the cultivation of these arts and it was the upper classes that could afford it. As a result, popular arts suffered and became more debased and deprived of any support.

It is therefore not surprising that until the late 50s and early 60s hardly any significant movement arose for studying and cherishing the popular arts or what is often described as "folk arts". Needless to say the "ancient and divine arts" were care-

Although **Bharathi** is one of the universalists of modern Indian literature, his passionate poems on his mother tongue, motherland and indigenous culture have generated linguistic consciousness among the Tamils in various ways. **Bharathi's** poetry is unique in that it combines two visions—the universal and the local. His deep concern for the local and the immediate includes such phenomena as language, culture, social evils and personal freedom. As a result, his influences too have varied with different sections of the people. While our poets like **Thuraiappa Pillai**, **Periyathambi**, **Nallathambi** and **Somasundara Pulavar** imbibed the broader—nationalist— aspects of **Bharathi**, there were others who more or less consciously limited themselves to his local vision. In

# Emergence of a separate identity of Ceylon Tamils

by the expatriates served as an impetus to the effluence of Linguistic and cultural consciousness of the Tamils in Ceylon. This aspect of our social history has yet to be studied by our scholars. In a recent dissertation S. Sathiyaseelan has focussed attention on the impact of the migration of Tamils from Ceylon to Malaysia. But more indepth studies remain to be done.

Sociologically speaking the linguistic and cultural awakening described above, was essentially that of the middle class Tamils with the upper middle class providing the leadership. The awakening which began in the religious sphere extended to the linguistic and literary fields. Basically it was a form of cultural self-assertion in the face of colonial domination. The point is that this cultural consciousness was limited in scope and in effect was designed to buttress the middle class values and aspirations and also provide that class with the necessary image for leadership.

In concrete terms the cultural activities were con-

achievements" and soon became the pre-occupation of middle class Tamils. **Natyam** in particular had been resuscitated in the early twenties by the efforts of people like **Bharata Iyer**, **Rukmani Devi Arundale** (who soon founded the **Kalashetra**, which has remained the outstanding Dance Academy in Madras) and **G. Venkatachalam** whose critical essays helped propagate the traditions and ideals of that dance form. During the 18th and 19th Centuries **Bharata Natyam** had become degraded and called "nautch-dance" performed by courtesans and prostitutes.

While scholars and critics from **G. Venkatachalam** to the late Professor **V. Raghavan** (1908-1979) contributed immensely to the resurgence of **Bharata Natyam**, it was perhaps, in the writings of **Ananda Coomaraswamy** that the dance form found its greatest champion. Two of the earliest monographs of **Coomaraswamy** were **The Mirror of Gesture** (1917) and **The Dance of Shiva** (1918) both of which inspired almost all subsequent writers on **Bharata Natyam**.

fully cushioned against any political intrusions, especially of any ideas tinged with social reform or change. To put it differently, artistic forms which are periodically revitalized by the absorption of radical ideas and giving expression to them, were kept hermetically sealed by the upper middle class purely as status symbols and ethnic identities.

This was the nature of the linguistic and cultural consciousness of the Tamils till the 1950s. The most sensitive Tamil scholars and creative writers like the late **A. Periyathambi Pillai** (1899-1978), **S. Somasundara Pulavar** (1878-1953), **M. Nallathambi Pulavar** (1896-1951) and **Thuraiappa Pillai** always conceived Sinhala and Tamil as two eyes or two sisters or two companions and invoked the image of a united and happy home. The reference to poets like **Periyathambi Pillai** and **Nallathambi** inevitably brings to mind **Subramania Bharathi** (1882-1921) whose centenary is being celebrated this year.

other words they have overlooked the main course fashioned by **Bharathi** and taken to the by-paths.

Today **Bharathi** stands out as an all Indian poet and has come to be cherished in many countries on the strength of his lyricism and universalism. At the same time it must be admitted that he was also, in more than one sense one of the progenitors of Tamil nationalism. From the 1930s **Bharathi's** writings began to trickle down to Ceylon and scholars, creative writers, social reformers and eventually politicians responded to them. It is true that contemporary criticism lays increased emphasis on the social content of **Bharathi's** works. But as in Tamilnadu so in Sri Lanka too, Tamil nationalists have projected the poet as a champion of language.

Post-independent political developments ushered in new dimensions to the problems of language and culture. The

(To be concluded)



## Political vendetta and constitution - making

The Cabinet and Government have decided on certain amendments to the Constitution. Unlike other laws, the Constitution must be kept sacred and inviolate and free from tampering. Our constitution has seen amendments and governments should not seek amendments to suit their whims and fancies. Governments should not merely protect democracy but maintain their magnanimity and trust.

Imagine the scene when Macbeth commits the bloody murder of King Duncan! Suddenly his conscience revolts and he speaks out:

Macbeth: This is a sorry sight (looking on his hands smeared with blood)

Macbeth: What hands are here? Ha! they pluck out mine eyes. Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood clean from my hand?

Constitution makers, too, here or elsewhere, should not later come to grief when they realise that they have tarnished the existing, sacred provisions of the constitution by darkening them with unwholesome provisions even to the extent of reflecting personal and political complexions, vendetta, etc.

The saying goes that a person should go to the Courts of justice with clean hands. It is equally necessary for men, pledged to serve the mass of people, to go to the electorate with clean hands.

Men, comprising the cabinet of any democratic country and sitting on the seats of power should not avail of that power to pass decrees requiring the people "do this, do that, etc...."

It is of paramount importance for a democratic citizen, upholding the ideals of justice and fairplay, to point out to the public of Sri Lanka and its government certain unhealthy features in the proposed amendments to the Constitution.

1. It has been proposed that a person who has been deprived of civic rights should be subject to no further disqualification, but any person making use of a person who had lost civic rights during an election will be deemed to have committed a corrupt practice.

This measure is undemocratic for the following reasons:

(a) why should it restrict the freedom of the ordinary mass of people inviting such a person and listening to his or her views at such momentous occasions on important issues confronting the people. It is certainly an affront to the sovereignty of

# Go to the electorate with clean hands

the people from whom any democratic government derives its power and mandate. A candidate seeking election is one of the constituents of the electorate.

(b) Civic rights are deprived for offences committed at a certain point of time. But by the time such a person is made use of for purpose of propaganda or for any other

greatest challenge to the sovereignty of the people who have the inalienable right to cast their votes to any candidate who stands before them notwithstanding any extraneous considerations.

In fairness, it may be stated that it is an insult to both the successful candidate and his electors if he is prevented from sitting or

to judge the work of a political party. There is, therefore, justification for such a restriction on the President. This new right to the President will, probably, occasion a tussle with the President and the elected party exposing the whole machinery of administration to ridicule and contempt. The reverence and the excellence which the President would normally command and enjoy will become jeopardised.

In the larger interest of justice and fairness, it is urged that the proposed amendments be abandoned. It is

by

**S. Ponniah**  
Attorney-at-Law

purpose that person might have become completely 'reformed' and capable of expressing or giving sound advice to the people. It is our firm belief "once a mistake is not always a mistake." One of the clear duties of a state or court of justice is to resurrect a condemned person and make him useful to society.

(c) Even though a condemned person is availed of by any person during the election it is for the people either to accept or reject such person's advice or views. Moreover, it is for the people either to vote for or reject the candidature of the person who is making use of the condemned person.

(d) It is the duty of the government to ensure free elections and maintain a climate of peace and equality. It should see that no one or body of persons is placed under a handicap, lest the entire election becomes unfair or coloured.

(e) A person deprived of civic rights, may still command respect and support from the people. This is a very important factor that any responsible government should reckon with. The wishes of the people cannot be slighted.

2. It is also proposed that on an injunction being applied for in the Court of Appeal during the course of the election, votes for that party in respect of that district will not be counted. This is indisputably the

attending the sessions of Parliament on the alleged ground pending an election petition although the petition has the possibility of being disposed of in two months. The question is whether the right of the people's representative to sit in Parliament has been invaded and denied.

We may explain the importance of this right by an analogy. A certain person has only one path to go in and out of his house. His neighbour, a thug, wilfully obstructs this path and the owner and his family members are unable to move about. This matter comes before a court of justice. The judge orders: "Let the owner and his family members use the path pending the decision of this dispute." If his order is that the owner should not use the path pending the decision to what hardships he would be exposed! And to what injustice!

Applying this analogy, the people may have given their representative a mandate to be ventilated in Parliament at once and before the lapse of a particular date. To prevent their member from attending the session of Parliament is to deny the democratic right of the people.

3. Another proposed amendment seeks to remove the present restriction on the President in dissolving Parliament in the first year. This amendment will enable a President belonging to one political party to dissolve in the first year itself, Parliament where another political party has its democratic majority. One year is too premature a period

to the Universities on an ethnic basis. Although appointments to public service may be defended, it is definitely wrongful to select students for the Universities on ethnic basis. No one can say anything against the passing of Sinhala teachers in proportion to the Sinhala student population. But where meritorious service is required in any part of the country, then admission to Universities on ethnic basis cannot be defended. It is indeed a national loss if selection on merit is denied. The country needs efficient engineers, doctors, administrators for national development and not Sinhala, Tamil engineers, doctors etc. For obvious reason we may not expatiate on this matter; it is a matter that should capture the imagination of all good nationalists and educationists. Unless people courageously resist these trends in time, national solidarity and progress will be in jeopardy.

Just as a human body overgrown with cancerous tissues becomes incurable, a constitution crammed with too many minor and unwholesome provisions becomes rigid and unworkable. That constitution is flexible that has the minimum fundamental provisions with more space for breathing and has been kept clear of conditioning.

The invented may turn against the inventor. The inventors may be driven to the position of themselves trying to wriggle out! The Constitution, essentially, must be beneficial to all the constituents of the country and must stand in good stead for all time.

Our Constitution, far from being crammed, requires weeding in time lest by lapse of time it gets cramped and becomes inflexible and unworkable.

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# LETTERS

## 'Dr. Ramakrishna's Identity Card!'

Let me congratulate Dr. Ramakrishna for concealing successfully, for so long, his Marxist identity, behind the holy ash he has been creatively applying on his forehead. I should also congratulate him for the relatively sober tone of the second communication on (S.R. 3-7-82) and in view of this great achievement I choose to ignore his childish (not child-like) name-calling. Some points raised by Dr. Ramakrishna deserve commenting on.

1. THE ROLE OF ENGLISH Capitalism did not enter Japan under conditions of colonialist domination. It was only after liberation in 1949 that China made giant strides in science and technology. However, one cannot deny the impact of Western philosophy and culture on both these societies

Japanese social values are rapidly moving towards western values under the impact of increased contact with the West. China is consciously moving away from its traditional feudal values. But China's westernization is guided by a different Western philosophy. The impact of Western thought and Western languages on these societies is tremendous. English has had a great impact on modern Chinese and modern Japanese. One cannot ignore the size of these nations and their economic potential when considering the "independence" of their socio-cultural development. There is certainly no case for aping the West but that, sadly, is part of our social reality. But modernization of the Tamil language and the Tamil Society in Sri Lanka and elsewhere will involve large degree of westernisation (I do not mean vulgar westernization)

2. Four and a half centuries of colonization and a third of a Century of neocolonisation are facts of history. Modern science did not make a real impact on any major nation under colonization, with the exception of lands occupied by the white races. Education in our society is survival oriented. Going abroad means a greater potential for survival to people. These are things which are determined by national and international conditions, and will continue as long as Sri Lanka remains a backward nation or until there is a major social change

3. Many of our youth and a number of people of the older generation have

acquired false western values but different sets of values. This again is a result of neocolonialism.

Whether one's identity is Tamil, Moor or Sinhalese is irrelevant to the issue. Until Sri Lanka is freed from the fetters of imperialist domination these problems are bound to persist. There is nothing absolute or unique about "Tamil" identity and this identity is something which changes with time. (Incidentally, I do not see how my discovering my identity "respectably" in the pages of S.R. will save me from the hands of hooligans and hired thugs).

4. I am opposed to dogmatic Marxism and it was the creative application of Marxism which made the October Revolution and Liberation of China possible. But revolution is not something which is made possible by the creativity of an individual or two. The bourgeoisie are clever too in manipulating national and internal situations. A revolution demands an objective situation which favours revolutionary changes; it also demands the proper harnessing of all progressive forces. I am not condoning the shortcomings of the "left" leadership. It may be the "mantra", which failed or it may be the "poojari". What is your Mantra, Dr. Ramakrishna? "Hare Rama, Hare Krishna"?

5. I was a bit surprised by Dr. R's soft attitude towards TULF. The Tamils have always been successful in finding a bunch of bourgeois politicians who can take them for fantastic rides. T.C., F.P., TULF (the reincarnation of F.P.), and may be, TELF next. The men in the TULF banded themselves together only to safeguard the parliamentary privileges of a handful of MPs.

S. Sivasegaram,  
University of Peradeniya,  
6-7-82.

## Fodder for rioters

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

Mr. P. C. P. Gnanadurai in his letter to the SR (July 10th), makes a plea on behalf of the lower middle class

Tamils living in dungeons and garage converted dwellings down South, merely to keep their home fires burning.

But the SLFP paper THE NATION of 25th June publishes (without comment) a resolution by TULF MP Mr. K. P. Ratnam which calls for the employment in Government service of Tamils in keeping with their ratio to the total population. If this resolution is accepted, rioters down south will never be short of fodder. The TULF resolution will ensure this. The exodus that August 1977 triggered will be reversed.

Even so called progressives like NM have sneered at the Tamil man's MO & PO economy and asked "What federalism for you fellows?" According to their way of arguing, Tamils cannot hope for the MOs & POs and at the same time ask for regional autonomy.

Big Brother has always pointed an accusing finger at Tamil public servants and exploiting Tamil businessmen in Sinhalese areas. Such unconscionable encroachments should cease.

"Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's...."

Yours faithfully,  
N. Deva Rajan.

## An embodiment of Hindu Culture

No. 73, Manipay Road,  
J. Jina,  
12-7-82.

Dear Sir,

Speaker after speaker paid glowing tribute to Kalanithi Brama Sri K. Kailasanatha Kurukkal, Head of the Department of Hindu Culture of the Jaffna University at last Saturday's function at Vaideswara Vidyakya held to felicitate the learned Sanskrit Professor on the attainment of his sixtieth birthday. Well-known Tamilnadu literary figure and editor 'KALAI-MAGAL' Shri K. V. Jegannathan presided. Out of the several songs of praise and blessings sung and read at the function, the one in pure Sanskrit by Brama Sri Seetha Rama Sastrigal was quite unique both in composition and rendering. Sanskrit slokas and mantras are really pleasing to hear and vibrates the listener when properly recited as done by the late Siva Sri I. Kailasanatha Kurukkal of Naga-booshani Ambal Devasthanam and Brama Sri K. Subramaniya Sastrigal of Nallur.

In replying to the many compliments showered on him Professor Kailasanatha Kurukkal—a very simple and unassuming person—the very embodiment of Hindu Culture and Discipline—said in his

own meek style that all these encomiums should go to his father—the late Karthigaya Kurukkal alias Thambiah Kurukkal of the Nallur Sivan Temple, whose untiring efforts and the very high standard of his upbringing raised him to his present position. The Professor touched at a very vital requirement prescribed in the Agamas; viz. the need to pay homage to one's ancestors before performing or participating in any happy event. This reminded me of the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his book "Religion & Society":

"SHRADHA IS AN ACT OF VENERATION FOR OUR ANCESTORS. WE SHOW THAT WE REMEMBER THEM, HOLD THEM IN REVERENCE AND OFFER THEM SYMBOLICAL FOOD AND WATER TO ALLAY THEIR HUNGER & THIRST. IT IS AN ACT OF IMAGINATIVE COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD."

The Professor added that he was accordingly dedicating the encomiums to his father of revered memory. This gesture on the part of the Kurukkal not only disclosed his sterling qualities and deep sense of gratitude to his father as a dutiful son but also impressed on the audience the importance of good upbringing of children.

A few years ago I had the good luck to travel in the same compartment with the Kurukkal who was proceeding to Colombo in connection with his brother's motor accident and consequent hospitalization. Although he was in no mood to discuss religion in the circumstances he was placed in at the time, he was kind enough to clear up certain matters that I was in doubt. I was amazed at his deep knowledge and the very subtle manner he approached the points raised and clarified them in his usual soft spoken way.

Yours faithfully,  
C. Ratnasabapathy.

## State Terrorism in Vavuniya : German body sends protest to President

DIAKONISCHES WERK of the Evangelical Church in Germany which is a humanitarian Christian organization that carries out social work inside Germany and through its overseas department supports development projects throughout the Third World has written a letter dated 13-5-82 to the President of Sri Lanka protesting against the violence of the State Armed Services and the Police in Vavuniya.

Admitting the complex nature of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the serious situation caused by it, the letter also shows acquaintance with origins of the Gandhiyam Society which is involved in a process of resettling the Hill Country Tamil refugees who came to Vavuniya, and the improvement of the social economic, cultural and educational conditions of these settlers.

Prof. Dr. Schober who has signed the letter states:-

"Starting middle of November 1981, the Gandhiyam Society suffers from a series of harassment and raids by personnel of the State Armed Services and Police which climaxed in the attacks of Jan. 7, Feb. 18, March 21 and 31 and April 6, 1982. Houses of settlers and volun-

teer workers were searched including the raid of Dr. Rajasundaram's house, people were harassed, intimidated and assaulted, some volunteer workers of the Gandhiyam Society were picked up, questioned, abused and even tortured, and properties were destroyed".

The organization appeals to the President:

"Since you yourself have clearly declared the intention of your Government to build a just and righteous society for all people in Sri Lanka we appeal to you to investigate through an impartial body as to who was responsible for the violence and attacks committed to the Gandhiyam Society and to take necessary actions against those members of the Services who harass and intimidate the innocent Public.

"We urgently ask you take timely action to terminate harassment and unwarranted sufferings inflicted on human beings by state personnel in Vavuniya and to urgently consider ways and means of compensating those who suffered loss."

A copy of the letter has also been sent to the Embassy of Sri Lanka in the Federal Republic of Germany.



# State oppression goes on, in the North

The Prevention of Terrorism Law was passed by the present UNP Government in 1979 as a piece of temporary legislation for 1 year's duration. The immediate and ostensible reason for this draconian law was to combat what the Govt. designated as terrorism indulged in particularly in Northern Sri Lanka allegedly by militant Tamil youth. The operation of this ruthless law was later extended for further periods and it has since been made permanent law of the land even though its provisions constitute a rapacious infringement on the fundamental rights so "piously" written into the Constitution framed by this Govt. in 1978. In fact, it has been found in actual practice that this law is a tacit licence to indulge in state terrorism by the Armed Forces. This is borne out from the reports of missions from the Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists concerning the treatment meted out to the Tamil-speaking people under this law.

## About 100 youths now in custody

There are now about 100 Tamil youths in Army custody under this law; a person can be detained for 18 months without trial. Court decisions that anyone or more of them should be transferred to the custody of the Judiciary are reversed by Parliament before the ink is dry on such decisions. The youth who are in custody continue to be tortured in diverse ways. Some of them whom the Govt. was compelled to produce in the Supreme Court following applications for writs of habeas corpus have told extremely dreadful tales of how they are being tortured in army custody and, mind you, they are returned to the same torturers. In fact, quite a few of them have revealed that they would prefer to commit suicide rather than suffer the torture they are subjected to day in day out.

## Methods of Torture

Judging from their statements they are being virtually sentenced to slow death by the Armed Forces. The following are some of the methods employed for torturing them, often after they are stripped naked:-

1. Both hands tied and the person suspended from a beam;
2. Hanging the person upside down with a gunny bag drawn over the head and pulled up to the waist and fastened. Then he is suffocated with the fumes of burnt chillies which he is forced to inhale;
3. Chilli powder (used for making hot curries) smeared all over the person's

body including the genitals;

4. Thrusting of iron bar into the rectum;
5. Inserting thin iron rods into the penis;
6. The person made to lie prostrate on a bench and beaten on the back and the soles of the feet after inserting chillies into the nose.

The Govt. has lately decided to arm itself with more powers under the Public Security Act ostensibly to deal with so-called rabble-rousers who are said to be out to create racial disturbances but apparently to put down Island-wide opposition to the Govt. which is fast reaching a bursting point, for on President Jayawardene's own admission, his Govt. is unable to bring down the cost of living when Reagan and Thatcher themselves are unable to do so; So this Govt. which depends on drastic laws for its own survival will never want to realise that such laws and arm-twisting military tactics will only exacerbate the vexed National Question in particular and the country's economic problems in general. The Govt's draconian laws and actions are tailored primarily to terrify the Tamil Nation into submission. Otherwise, why is it that no action has been taken against any of the Sinhalese personnel from the Armed Forces and hoodlums under the Prevention of Terrorism Law for the wanton killings and destruction caused by them in Jaffna, particularly in May June, 1981.

This Govt. has failed miserably to solve the problems of the Tamil Nation though it piously promised to do so at the 1977 Elections. On the contrary, those problems have only been intensified due to repeated racial riots, Police/Army rampages and destruction, constant encroachment of traditional Tamil territory and uninterrupted and wilful discrimination in the fields of education and employment. On the other hand, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) which pledged to adopt measures for the establishment of a separate, secular socialist State for the Tamil Nation has not taken any meaningful steps in that direction but is content to negotiate with the Govt. and to passively give the Govt. time to implement its promises.

Disenchanted with the TULF, certain sections of the

Tamil youth broke away from its Youth Wing (Ilaignanar Peravai) and formed themselves into a rival youth movement—Ilaignanar Peravai Viduthalai Ani. Sporadic acts of violence including killing of Police and Army personnel, Bank robberies etc. had been going on for some time in the North. The Security forces mounted an Island-wide man-hunt for some most wanted Tamil youths. Some militants had fled to Tamil Nadu (South India) through fear of apprehension and torture by the Armed Forces. Some of them were recently apprehended in Tamil Nadu by the Indian Police and the Sri Lanka Govt. has been endeavouring to have these men extradited to Sri Lanka.

break-up of the General strike of July 1980, working class upsurge soon revived and ascended. The wave of strikes in the Plantation Sector, the on-going 8-month old strike by the Paranthan Chemicals Corporation workers and the recent lightning strike in the Port of Colombo in which even the pro-Govt. Union participated are clear prospects of the struggles steadily spilling over.

Right now, the Plantation Sector (Tea, Rubber and Coconut Estates) is poised for a major confrontation. The Workers (mainly Tamil labourers) are still on daily pay despite the lapse of over a century since South Indian Tamil labour was imported

strike. The ongoing agitations in that sector are inexorably leading to a major showdown soon—with another 1-week token strike already on the agenda. But one cannot rule out the possibility that another bloody racial holocaust will be set in motion by vested interests to intercept such a showdown and push the fighting forces into disarray. One should hope that the recently formed Committee for Workers' Unity (CWU) would push ahead with its programme for the setting up of the National workers' Council (akin, say, to the British Trade Union Congress) so that broadbased working class action could be launched to counter disturbances induced on racial lines.

by

**A. K. Annamalai**  
Jaffna D. C. Secretary N. S. S. P.

The Nava Sama Samaaj Party (NSSP) was the first political organisation in Sri Lanka which stated publicly and unequivocally that those Tamil youths should not be extradited to Sri Lanka. Because, the NSSP is completely opposed to the torture of these youths just as much as it is against individual terrorism, robbery etc. in the name of political action. Even though we do not regard India as a country which respects human rights of individuals we feel that these Tamil militants will be safer in India rather than in Sri Lanka.

Recently in Jaffna, 2 Tamil youths from the rival Youth movement referred to above were shot dead by some unknown youth. They were also active social workers from a village in the constituency represented in Parliament by the TULF Secretary General and Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam.

All these unfortunate incidents stem directly or indirectly from:-

1. the present UNP Govt. betraying the Tamil Nation more than any previous Government in this country.
2. the incapacity of the TULF to launch a concerted struggle to win the rights of the Tamil Nation and its naive aversion to the linkage of its struggles with that of the working class and the downtrodden masses of the whole country.

## Working Class Upsurge

Even though some setback was caused by the sadistic

into this country to provide cheap labour to the plantations of the then British Imperial regime. Even today, their wage rates are a pittance to say the least. Moreover, they are not provided with work for more than, say, 18 days in a month. The net result is a perpetual penumbra of poverty, squalor, disease etc.

In May this year there was a successful 2-day token

The country's general economic problems, and man's inhumanity to man have reached such disgusting and monstrous proportions under successive capitalist Governments in this country, particularly under the present Jayawardene regime that all oppressed sections of the people should unite forthwith, first and foremost, to overthrow the present arch-capitalist Government of President Jayawardena.

## Reading faculty well developed in the North says District Minister

The reading faculty of the Jaffna public was already quite developed, and it was important that publications giving administrative and parliamentary information should be made available to them, said Jaffna District Minister, U. B. Wijekoon, in opening the new Information Centre in the Jaffna Secretariat on the 13th of July (Tuesday) at 9.15 a.m.

Mrs. Abeyratne the Director of Information, Mr. Devanesan Nesiah the Government Agent of Jaffna and Mr. Nadarajah, Chairman of the District Development Council also participated in the ceremonial opening.

Mr. U. B. Wijekoon thanked Mrs. Abeyratne who had taken the initiative of proposing to the G. A. Jaffna that such an Information Centre should be established.

Mr. Devanesan Nesiah said that he was seriously considering expanding the News Centre which was installed as a small stall in the Secretariat building into a bigger unit outside the premises. He also announced the publication of a book giving information regarding the Jaffna District which was being printed with the financial aid of the Ministry of Information and would be sent to the other Districts in the country.



Vijay Amirtaraj India's Tennis Ace Player who is to wed Sri Lankan girl Shyamala Wincelous has again failed to achieve his cherished ambition to win the Wimbledon Title.

Vijay who has beaten this year's Wimbledon Champion Jimmy Connors several times in the course of his professional tennis career is known to have all the qualities required to make a Champion—except one.

Although Vijay failed even to get into the Quarter Finals this year, the British Press paid glowing tributes when he lost narrowly to Tanner.

Here are some excerpts from comments made by some Sports Writers in the "Times" London, the "Guardian" and the "Daily Mail"

The morning press was full of ecstatic praise for the match in which Vijay Amirtaraj, India's leading player, was narrowly beaten in five sets by Roscoe Tanner, who is something of a Wimbledon specialist.

# Vijay fails, but the British Press hails him

Geoffrey Green, writing in The Times of London said "For two and three quarter hours, the centre court was enmeshed and regaled by a fine match of sharp contrast when the naked power of Tanner of America—the loser to Borg in the final of 1979—overcame the artistic brush strokes of the willowy Vijay. For four sets, the score stood like guardsman on parade—6-4, 6-4 and then about turn, 4-6, 4-6. But at the climax one dropped out of line and it was Tanner who got home 6-3.

Having pulled back to two sets apiece, with only a single break in each, Amirtaraj's hope of victory burned like a bright flame

"After all" went on Green "He had recovered in the fifth against Borowiak, another American in the very first round, but this time the Indian's future proved to be a candle in the wind and was blown out.

"Amirtaraj, for his part," Green concluded, "was all stylish refinement, especially on the backhand. If only he could cultivate his gifts to a sharper degree! He strokes the ball lovingly as if it were a child's face."

"Style is the man", added Green, "and Amirtaraj represents the saying that only a mediocre artist is always at his best. To mix meta-

phors, here was a battle of broadsword against the rapier, a match moreover of humour and good manners with neither man raising a single query of a linesman and both applauding each other's strokes. It was a pleasure, reflected later by Tanner at his press interview. "Vijay Amirtaraj and I enjoy what we do. I don't think you have to be at war to play and win. There's more to life than just playing tennis and we both feel like that."

## WIMBLEDON TENNIS

"Classic collision": According to David Irvine in The Guardian. "The centre court had awaited the Tanner-Amirtaraj match with eager expectation and they were not disappointed. It was a classic collision between the

power server and the graceful destroyer but at the end the feeling persisted that Amirtaraj now belongs to a bygone age: as out of date as Ranjitsinji might be in modern cricket. "His appeal", averred Irvine, is an amateur one, but he lives in a highly professional age and above all lacks the killer instinct. The tennis records are littered with instances of Amirtaraj losing matches he was in a position to win and his performances against Tanner ran true to form. Having recovered to two sets all with a brilliant display of returning, he became an apparent bundle of nerves, with two double faults in his first service game in the fifth..." a hard critical look at Vijay that.

Great, gracious Vijay: According to Nigel Harmon of The Daily Mail "Tanner put down the great and gracious Vijay and everyone was sad".

## Vavuniya goes festive in honour of Freedom fighter

Vavuniya, the capital of the Vanni region, well-known today an air of festivity. Politicians, intellectuals and Artists from India and Sri Lanka are gathering for three days to honour the indomitable freedom-fighter of Vanni **Bandara Vannian**. Organised by the District Development Council of Vavuniya with the assistance of the M.P., T. Sivasithamparam, the programmes are ably arranged by the Chairman of the Vavuniya Town Council, Mr. I. Ketheeswaran.

The programme opened yesterday (Friday), the chief feature being the unveiling of **Bandara Vannian's** Statue in the Vavuniya Secretariat premises by Vavuniya M.P., T. Sivasithamparam. The ceremony was presided over by the District Minister for Vavuniya G. D. Mahindasoma.

The Chief Guests are Hon. M. A. Bakeer Markar, Speaker of the National State Assembly and Hon. K. Rajaram, Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Legislature. In the night a programme of Nataswaram music, a drama titled "Bandara Vannian Nadagam" and Dance by Miss. Ranga Vivekanandan is to be held, with South Indian film idol Jaishankar billed to speak and attract the crowds.

On the 17th (today) from 10 a.m. an exhibition will be held at the Saivaprakash

Vidyalayam, Vavuniya. In the evening lectures will be given by Dr. Auvai Nadarajan of South India and Dr. Pathmanathan of the University of Peradeniya.



A statue for him in Vavuniya

It is rarely noticed that the Vanni—which included the area within Elephant Pass in the North, Trincomalee in the East and Mannar in the West—stood against the sophisticated armed attack of the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialists till 1803. The area which still retains its historic name of "Adan-kapattu" (Indomitable region) was yet unconquered even long after the better known Jaffna and Kotte Kingdoms had fallen to the colonialists.

After unsuccessful attempts by the British against **Bandara Vannian**, it was only

in 1803 that a powerful three pronged attack from Jaffna, Mannar and Trincomalee was made to defeat **Bandara Vannian**. There is no better testimony to **Bandara Vannian's** courage than the stone inscription dated 31st October, 1803 raised by the British at Katchellaimadu to record the epic battle.

Though **Bandara Vannian** lost the battle he lived for seven more years at Panankamam to wage guerrilla warfare with some of his friends against the British. He was finally shot in 1810 during one such skirmish.

A statement released for the celebrations by Mr. T. Sivasithamparam (M.P., Vavuniya) says: "We hope that the raising of this statue will create among the Tamil public an awareness of their heroic history, a thirst for freedom, and a unity for their ideals."

## Plight of Lankans in Lebanon

The Red Cross Society in Colombo received more than 4000 appeals from desperate Sri Lankans to get information about their relatives working in Lebanon following the Israeli invasion of that country.

## Jaffna Central completes 100 years of Cricket

by Victor S. Kiruparaj

I

Jaffna Central has completed her HUNDREDTH YEAR Playing Cricket: a proud ACHIEVEMENT we hold so dear; No other school has the willow wielded so long, To build up Teams, to draw crowds, their play-fields through

II

The KING OF GAMES, in 1881, was introduced By sporting padre, Frederick Webster who produced Jaffna's First Cricketers—all set for the call; The PIONEERS—in tucked-up Verties, pads and all.

III

The BIGGER SCHOOLS in the North soon took to the game, As a duck takes to water—their glory and fame Far and wide—all o'er the PENINSULA did spread, E'en Colombo's GAY CAVALIERS, oft did the North dread.

IV

The English have left behind their sport, KING CRICKET: In days bygone—it was the PASSPORT and TICKET For TOP POSITIONS in Sector—Mercantile or State; Even today, it's the former, the ACCOMPLISHED SPORTSMAN'S BAIT.

V

The game of the WHISPERING WILLOW has come to stay; On highways and byways, in fields and groves do we play Cricket, in the glorious traditions of this sport; The Englishman's LEGACY—We've through the years sought.

## Jaffna Mayor

### says it in French

The Jaffna Mayor, Mr. Rajah Visuvanathan, has sent telegraphic greetings in French to the French Ambassador,

Mr. Francois Toussaint, on the occasion of French National Day, on 14th July.



Not long ago the writer was travelling by the noon train from Jaffna to Colombo in a second-class sleeperette. When the train reached Chavakachcheri, he noticed that water from the tap in one of the toilets was leaking. He tried to stop it but failed. So he sought the assistance of a well-built youngster (possibly a government officer travelling on his warrant) to assist—virtually pleading to him. The youngster abruptly remarked, "Let it flow". With no other alternative the writer left it at that. By the time the train got to Manakulam there was no water for that compartment. Now this is typical of the indifference of many to the question of waste. One may argue that this is a case of public waste and that the youngster would have behaved differently if he was paying for the water. The important thing however is the attitude. It is this attitude to waste that has to be corrected.

#### Dwarf varieties of paddy

Our most important food item is rice and let us consider it in both its forms as paddy and rice. Waste starts from the field itself when harvesting operations commence. Thereafter waste continues in all the operations: threshing, drying, transporting, milling/hulling, storing, distribution at the various stages and finally when the rice reaches the consumer's residence. There is further wastage in storage at the home, cooking, table waste and finally with the rice grains left over in the cooking utensils.

In reducing waste, scientists, food-producers, agribusiness men, food consumers and others concerned should co-operate. Agricultural research workers have now produced dwarf varieties of paddy which do not lodge thus preventing loss of grains of standing crops. Agricultural engineers are turning out better and more efficient milling and hulling plants to obtain maximum rice from the paddy milled/hulled.

#### 8 rats for every human being

Storage in the wholesaler's stage is important and this is the place where the waste is sometimes heavy. There should be a system in which the grains received earlier are disposed earlier. If this is strictly followed, one would not hear in the presses now and then that some rice and flour in some store or other have been condemned as unfit for human consumption due to long storage. In storage one has to guard against rats and other rodents. How serious this is can be gauged when one is told that in India there are 8 rats for every human being. From Australia we have very good example of good storage when the average loss in storage was only 0.249% per annum for wheat stored by

# Reducing Waste

## -How and why

the Australian Wheat Board by following some simple and inexpensive methods.

The stage that concerns all of us is the consumer stage where waste can more easily be avoided. If one takes the trouble to look at the garbage in Colombo one will not fail to notice a good amount of discarded food—pieces of bread, cooked rice etc. It is not only children but adults as well leave some table waste. The children

has its merits to avoid this little waste, the Tamils have always treated rice with reverence almost bordering holiness.

It is not out of place to mention this writer's experience in Malaysia of how waste can be utilised. Every year on Thaipoosame day several thousands are fed at the Murugan Temple premises at Batu Caves a place just outside the capital, Kuala Lumpur. The writer who had

eliminate. A large percentage of the populace in most of the developed countries consumes more calories and proteins than required for healthy living. It was estimated that in USA in 1974 between 25 percent and 45 percent of the adults were more than 20 percent overweight. Perhaps for reasons of better health some of these people may reduce their food so as to make available the excess food to needy people. Further in this country and

It is a fact that it is less efficient and more expensive to convert vegetable protein into normal animal protein sources directly (e.g. gross caloric efficiency of conversion of feed to edible steer carcass is between 10 and 15 percent). Such efficiency criteria however would not apply where animals do not compete with man for their food. The point made out in this paragraph does not very much apply to developing countries where people consume very limited food of animal origin. (Nutritionists claim that some portion of animal origin is needed by us). Developed countries have a lot to do in this direction by gradually replacing some of these food of animal origin by others so that the savings in grains will be diverted for human consumption in the developing countries.

#### We need only the will

To appreciate what food waste means to a nation or the world population at its present level of consumption, at least 2.5 percent increase per annum in food production is needed while the food waste in all its forms may vary from 5 percent to 35 percent. Thus theoretically one can forget about efforts to increase food production if some part of the waste can be avoided. To quote President Kennedy regarding eliminating hunger, "we have the means, we have the capacity... We need only the will". This remark equally applies to food waste.

### Perspectives

by Nagamuttu

should be taught to serve food particularly rice in instalments so that they would serve the right quantity that they can consume, without leaving any balance at the end of the meal to be thrown away. Further the housewife must ensure that all the rice from the pot in which rice is boiled is completely emptied is not difficult to find 3 or 4 table spoons of rice left behind in the pot. Our old habit of pouring some water into the pot with some grains of rice so that the remnant can be eaten as old rice the following day

been there on a Thaipoosam day noticed a Chinese elderly person with the assistance of some boys blocking the waste water in the drains around the temple with small wire nets. These people were gathering the rice grains from the washed fingers of those who have had their rice meals at the temple madam. On inquiry the person said he would collect sufficient rice this way to feed his many pigs. This is typical of the Chinese who never know the meaning of waste.

There are other kinds of food waste that are harder to

in most other developed countries, table waste is excessive. It is claimed that waste from the American Table is sufficient to feed the whole of Bangladesh.

There is yet another way in which existing food supplies could theoretically be made to go further. More food could be made available for human consumption if cereals and vegetable proteins are used directly instead of passing them through the alimentary tracts of animals and consuming them in the form of milk, meat and eggs.

## NEWS BRIEFS

### AIR LANKA PLANE IN BANGKOK MISHAP

Air Lanka's Tri-Star Plane ran off the runway at Bangkok's Don Munang Air Port while taking off in a flight to Hongkong. The Captain of the Aircraft, a Sri Lankan has been suspended until investigations are completed. The flight was delayed by almost 20 hours before the plane was extricated from the mud and repaired.

### AIR LANKA FLIGHTS TO INDIA DELAYED

Two Air Lanka's flights to India were delayed at Katunayake Air Port on Monday as a result of technical defects in the windscreen of the planes.

### TULF LEADER TALKS TO LOCAL ARMY HEAD

TULF Leader, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, is reported to have taken up with Brigadier Cyril Ranatunge, the Army Commander in Jaffna, complaints of repeated harassments on members of the

public in Nelliady and other places over the past several days. Complaints have also been received that women and young girls have been harassed by Security Personnel under the pretext of searching.

### BLINDFOLDED AND RAPED AT RATMALANA

A young woman of 3rd Lane, Rawattewatte, Ratmalana, is reported to have been blindfolded, gagged and then raped by a man at her house around mid-night. The Police have produced the young woman before the J.M.O. No arrests have been made.

### NALLUR FESTIVALS BEGIN ON JULY 25

Nallur Kandasamy Kovil Annual Festivals commence this year on July 25th and will continue till August 19th.

### MISS. DANIEL, NEW M.P. FOR HEWAHETA

Miss. M. A. Rupa Sriyani Daniel, elder sister of Anura Daniel, the ex-M.P. for

Hewaheta who was compelled to resign following his involvement in the attempt to smuggle gold into Sri Lanka has been appointed M.P. in place of her brother. She will be the youngest woman ever to enter parliament.

### COURT ORDER TOO LATE

The order by the District Court Colombo restraining Anna Ekanayake, hijacker Sepala Ekanayake's wife from removing her son from Sri Lanka could not be carried out as Anna had left the island, with her son before the court made order. Meanwhile Sepala's application for bail has been turned down by court.

### AID FOR MAHAVELI PROGRAMME

Sri Lanka is to receive sum of Rs. 667.7 million dollars this year to carry out development programmes on the Mahaveli from 14 developed countries and international Aid Organizations including World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

### HIGHER RATES FOR PAYING WARD

Increased rates will be charged for Paying wards in

Government Hospitals according to a Gazette Notification released last week.

### PAY RISE FOR TEACHERS

Teachers will enjoy an interim rise in pay soon until a reasonable and permanent salary scale is devised for them. Minister of Education Ranil Wickremasinghe has directed the authorities concerned to take necessary steps towards implementing this. The rise is expected to be between Rs. 200/- and Rs. 300/- and this benefit is to be extended to all 140,000 teachers presently in service.

### PLIGHT OF LANKANS IN LEBANON

The Red Cross Society in Colombo received more than 4000 appeals from desperate Sri Lankans to get information about their relatives working in Lebanon.

### ANOTHER FERRY SERVICE TO INDIA

Another ferry service between Talaimannar and Rameshwaram is expected to commence towards the end of this month. At the same time it is also proposed to increase the passenger capacity in the Indo-Ceylon Ferry "Ramanujam" from 800 to 1100.



Somewhere in the 1960s a Swami in the Himalayas was mentally disturbed. While the other Swamis were enjoying the natural beauty and bliss of meditation in the serene Himalayas far away from the maddening crowds this Swami was slowly acquiring the personal conviction that spirituality divorced from people is only sheer escapism and selfishness. So he slowly trudged down from the Himalayas and entered the chaotic world of wars, oppression and poverty. But he saw that while U.N.O. and other organizations were there to stop wars, politicians to voice the demands of the oppressed nationalities, trade unions to look after the interests of the exploited workers, there was none to notice the orphaned children and destitute elders whose plight was not too prominent to attract public attention.

#### 90 Children and 30 elders

Today in Vathiry—a remote hamlet in the North Ceylon—are found a few blocks of halls, two uncompleted cement buildings, two wells and eighteen water closets under the scorching Jaffna Sun; though not symbols of architectural beauty they are certainly monuments witnessing to the painful struggle of one man against rising inflation and inadequate public concern.

Since starting his ashram for the orphans and elders in a humble cadjan shed in 1969, Swami Paramananda today has 90 children and 30 elders crying for attention. The Swami's aim is not only to look after the material needs of the destitutes and see that they have a full tummy three times a day, but also to realise that these are sensitive human beings whose emotional and spiritual wants too should be met. Moreover, while most charity organizations unwittingly perpetuate the sense of dependence of the needy, the Swami aims to give vocational training to the orphans so that they may stand on their own legs one day, adjust themselves to the busy society and struggle for existence independently.

#### A Public Charitable Trust

But this complex programme of catering to the whole personality of the needy has been meeting manifold challenges which have prevented the Swami from realising his visions. While the rising inflation and lack of support from the State and the public have jeopardised the financial situation of the ashram, lack of competent and yet selfless volunteers to train the orphans has been a stumbling block to any progressive plan. The Swami who had for some years concentrated only on the building of new blocks and thereby neglected

# Orphans and Elders Home in Vathiry



Children and Elders at lunch. On right is Swami Paramananda

the spiritual and educational needs of the inmates finally realised that this was not a project which could tolerate a solo performance.

So in the middle of 1981 the Swami decided to share the responsibilities regarding the institution with other prominent members of the public. All steps necessary to create a Public Charitable Trust were thereupon taken. On 7th February 1982 an Instrument of Trust was drawn up under the provisions of the Ceylon Trusts Ordinance No. 9 of 1917 and signed. The authors of the Trust were Swami Paramananda the founder, and two representatives of the Sri Paramananda Children's Home and Ashram Society Limited which nominally owned the institution and its assets. The authors transferred the lands, buildings and all other assets of the institution to seven Trustees including the Swami.

The problem that the institution now faces is that of urgent needs and insufficient means at hand. The three year plan that the institution has drawn faces the danger of ending like any other over-ambitious plan the governments of Sri Lanka have been periodically announcing since Independence.

In 1982 the Ashram plans to complete the half-begun upstairs block for boys costing Rs. 240,000/- and an uncompleted upstairs block for Elders costing Rs. 50,000/- and to build a new kitchen and sick-rooms costing Rs. 35,000/- and Rs. 15,000/-

respectively. In 1983 it hopes to construct an upstairs block to form a Library and Prayer Hall costing Rs. 300,000/-. In 1984 the organization dreams that it would be able to construct a 10-roomed flat for Elders having means of their own but no one to look after them in their old age which would cost Rs. 250,000/-, and a shelter for Anchorites and Elders keen to practice spiritual sadhanas estimated to cost Rs. 30,000/-.

Apart from these, there are other needs such as beds, cupboards, kettles, lamps and boilers, which too would cost a tidy sum. Anyone who thinks that such plans are too inordinate for a simple unworldly Ashram, should realise that the Swami has been forced to limit the inmates to just 120 people and regretfully deny admission to dozens whose plight was no less pathetic, simply because he lacked the means.

#### Vocational Training

Though the institution has so far been successful in meeting the educational needs of the 90 children, sending them to schools in the neighbourhood, it regrets that it has not been able to start its vocational training programme. To train boys in Agriculture and in the process produce the requirements of the Ashram it firstly needs two acres of land. To train twenty able-bodied boys in

carpentry, the ashram needs tools and a competent instructor who will be sacrificial enough not to run off to the Middle East for a weightier pay bag. To train 30 girls in sewing the Ashram needs five sewing Machines. The Ashram's vision is indeed an ambitious one of creating a miniature socialist society of young men and women who would produce and equally share all their need—if only the wherewithal for these plans are met.

#### Too few Voluntary homes

So now the Ashram has appealed for funds, inviting those who are not bound by the norms of this acquisitive society to contribute in cash and in kind. But the Ashram feels that it is simply not stretching the begging bowl but giving the public an opportunity to ennoble their character by exercising themselves in selfless giving. The Ashram also feels that in the very process of giving the public an opportunity in identifying themselves with this noble project, the money becomes a symbol of moral support and inspiration.

But much more than the money, a kind "Hello" and a sympathetic smile to the inmates on a visit to the Ashram will be more appreciated as these destitute

are longing for concern from the busy mechanical world that has abandoned them.

The survey by the Ashram shows that while there are around 150 voluntary homes for children and elders in the Sinhalese areas, "Homes in the North and East of Ceylon where the Hindus predominate, are few and far between". This selfishness apart, the very fact that so many Tamil parents can be deserted by their children is a fact that makes us raise our eyebrows. These are features that are strange to the traditional Tamil Culture. Poetess Auvaiyar's crisp aphorisms "The father and mother are the first known God", "No temple is more sacred than the mother", "No mantram is more powerful than the father's word", are poignant even through the idiom of an alien tongue.

#### Selfish Saving of money

But the socio-economic condition of modern Sri-

by a Staff Writer

Lanka makes the Tamil act against his culture. The dowry system places a heavy constraint on the Jaffna man to save his earning selfishly; the national oppression has intensified their already prominent materialism. Youth have gone abroad seeking greener pastures as they see only the red fire and black smoke in the tyranny of the khaki-clad in Jaffna. The petro-dollars of Arabia has been a stronger claimant of affection for many youths than their parents. Many social-minded have had to answer the call to arms for their nation and have had to sweep aside the elders as a meaningless barrier.

#### A motivation to action

What is necessary in the North today is a sense of consistency. While vociferously crying for freedom from an oppressive state we sweep aside the claims of the orphans and the Elders, which is sheer blindness—nay hypocrisy.

Let us hope that this year which has been declared the International Year of the Ageing by the UNO is not just another banner annually sported around the world devoid of any practical implications, but a declaration that would motivate us to action.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## THERE IS NO TIME TO LOSE, SAYS COMMUNIST PARTY

"There is much more that has to be done and there is no time to lose" says a statement issued on behalf of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka by its General Secretary, Mr. K. P. Silva, in calling upon all non-governmental parties to fight reactionary and anti-democratic measures, and to insist that the next general elections are free and fair.

Here are excerpts from the statement released to 'Saturday Review'.

"The new amendments to the election law that the government has announced indicate clearly that, despite its boasts and big talk, both the U.N.P. government and President J. R. Jayawardene are far from confident about their stability.

"These amendments, therefore, are yet another attempt by this government to abuse the processes of democracy rig the elections in their favour, and deny the people a real free choice about who should govern them.

They show once again that the government, keenly aware that its position is fast eroding and can only get worse, is determined to remain in power even if it can only do so by the most questionable means.

All this shows how correct the Communist Party was when it warned that free and fair elections could not be expected from the U.N.P. government and appealed to all non-governmental political parties to get together to ensure that free and fair elections are held....

It is clear that the government now intends to hold the next Presidential elections before the general elections—probably this year, before the Budget is introduced. What is more striking is the new power given to the President to dissolve new Parliaments twice within the first year of their election. It is quite apparent that the U.N.P., nervous that an anti-UNP majority may be returned to Parliament in the next general elections, wants to give the President powers to prevent such Parliaments from functioning through arbitrary dissolution.

Another index of the UNP's consciousness of its growing instability and likely inability to win a majority in the next Parliament is the new provision that will exempt members of Opposition parties who want to 'participate in the formation of a government for the purpose of ensuring a stable government' from the present provisions whereby they can be expelled from their party and from Parliament if the General Secretary of their party so informs the Speaker. This is yet another step in the realisation of President Jayawardene's long cherished dream of a so-called "National" government—i.e. a united front of all sections of the capitalist class willing to join with the U.N.P. in following the path of neo-colonialist development. Needless to say, such exemptions from expulsion are not extended to any UNP M.P. who crosses over to the Opposition!...

The new assault on the democratic process that these amendments represent makes it even more imperative for the non-governmental parties as suggested by the Communist Party, to come together to these fight back reactionary and anti-democratic measures and to insist that the next elections are free and fair. Although the response to our appeal from other non-governmental parties has been generally positive, there is much more that has to be done and there is no time to lose.

### C. M. U. STRIKE: A SUCCESS

Reports reaching from many districts show that the one day token strike organized by the Ceylon Mercantile Union on Wednesday, 14th July, was a success. The strike was organized to express solidarity with the 375 workers of the Paranthan Chemical Factory who have been waging an unbroken seven month battle—since 4th November, 1980—demanding the re-instatement of 15 branch union officials and the restoring of jobs to the 'casual' workers.

# Snap elections

## Will the TULF figure in floor crossing?

(Continued from Page 1)

Also, in the event of the UNP failing to gain an overall majority, Mr. Jayawardene could encourage floor-crossings—including, and especially, from the Tamil United Liberation Front—using the threat of dissolution as a lever.

There is opportunity for such manoeuvre under the proposed amendments, which seek to empower the President to dissolve Parliament twice within the first year and to permit "all parties to participate in the formation of a Government for the purpose of ensuring a stable Government."

### National government possibility

It might even result in the emergence of a "National Government" something which is known to have been dear to Mr. Jayawardene's heart for quite some time.

The TULF has announced that it would not put forward a candidate for the Presidential election. In UNP circles, this is taken to mean that the leaders would throw their weight behind Mr. Jayawardene.

Political observers in Colombo say that this is the only "logical course" for the TULF, now that its leaders appear to have come to some understanding with Mr. Jayawardene on the issues concerning the Tamil people.

In the meantime, renewed efforts are being made to bring together the two factions of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Now that a Select Committee of Parliament in the matter concerning the proposed expulsion of Mr. Anura Bandaranaike from the SLFP (S) before he re-joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's faction, accepted the SLFP (M) as the real SLFP, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake's legal position has been considerably strengthened.

On the basis of the Select Committee's stand, the Com-

missioner of Elections could refuse to recognise Mrs. Bandaranaike's faction. For, unlike in India, our election law specifically states that "A political party shall not be entitled to be treated as a recognised political party... if its name is identical with the name of any party which is already entitled to be treated as a recognised political party, or in the opinion of the Commissioner of Elections so nearly resembles such name as to be calculated to mislead, confuse or deceive."

In any case, political observers note that once the new amendments come into force Mrs. Bandaranaike would have no alternative but to quit the political field

until the elections are over.

While there will be provision to penalise any candidate "making use of a person who had lost civic rights", there will be provision to save UNP candidates, if Mrs. B. tries to canvass for them, through the issue of a public statement disassociating themselves from her.

Because of the legal impediments, the extreme possibility exists, according to political observers, of Mrs. Bandaranaike finally agreeing to get together with Mr. Senanayake. If this happens, the Presidential stakes will not be the "one horse race" that the Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudal, has predicted it to be.

## To Mathew with Love

(By a Staff Writer)

On the 8th of June this year a 13-year old boy died an unfortunate victim of a parcel bomb placed near the letter-box at the Jaffna Grand Bazaar sub-post office. Police and Army stationed in Jaffna, unable to handle these parcel bombs which had been found in many other post-offices in the peninsula, had to rush experts from Colombo to explode the bombs with caution.

Last Wednesday morning when a 'parcel' was found near the same grand-bazaar post office, the Security Personnel now courageous after their previous experience rushed confidently to the spot. Metal detectors were quickly brought to the scene. The O.I.C. of Jaffna Police Station, Inspector S. Thavalingam and Assistant Superintendent of Police Neville Fernando rushed to the spot knowing that expert direction should be given to their men dealing in this dangerous affair. The area was 'surrounded' and sealed. After minutes of tedious examination from various angles it was decided that the deadly parcel should be taken to the Gurunagar Army Camp for further examination.

Our politicians would have envied the care and reverence with which the small parcel was escorted to the Army Camp. Even after hours of feverish checking by experts the mysterious contents of the parcel eluded detection. It was then that one brave soldier after saying his prayers ventured to untie the parcel gingerly and slowly. What he discovered within the deadly parcel was—a few empty King Coconut shells!

It was a pity that the coconut water had been drunk before parcelling—or the tired soldiers could have had some compensation. But soldiers with a more long term vision would have felt that such drills are very necessary because there is no way of knowing which is what.

It is significant however that the 'joker' had addressed the parcel to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Cyril Mathew who often selflessly officiates without salary as the "Honourable Minister of Communal Affairs".