

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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S. L. F. P. dangles the B. C. pact before Tamil voters

Viewpoint

Make a move-on, Mr. Mayor

One year and two months have gone since some rowdy minions of the State reduced the Jaffna Public Library's ninety thousand books to ashes and dust. What happened on that dark June night left Jaffna stunned into disbelief. A venerable Catholic priest, a linguist and scholar, died of shock. Hundreds of Jaffna's children who were avid patrons of the Children's section roamed among the ashes in puzzlement, looking for little unburnt fragments to carry away as mementos. Jaffna soon went into quiet mourning.

But while Jaffna grieved, the rest of the country was passing through its own area of darkness. The so-called National Press, the English language dailies and Sinhala language dailies (with one exception, a Marxist one) perpetrated in their columns what was probably the biggest cover-up in the history of journalism in this country. The cover-up was so effective that a top man holding a position of authority in an academic organisation in Colombo who happened to be in Matara at that time, was told an ingenious story: that the Jaffna Public Library had housed the Paranavitane collection and the "Jaffna Tigers" knowing that Paranavitane's books would have debunked the Jaffna Kingdom theory had set fire to their own Library! It was certainly not that kind of story that mobs make up. But what was most disturbing about it was the fact that the academic believed it! Alas it took a long long time for the South to awaken to the truth.

Now, one year and two months have passed, monies and books have poured in, not only from the North and South but from many parts of the Western world. The government itself has tacitly accepted responsibility for the Jaffna burnings by paying compensation money. The period of mourning and self-pity is over. Life has to go on. The torch of learning has to be kept alive. What are we waiting for, Mr. Mayor?

It is to the credit of Jaffna's only Tamil daily—the EELANADU—that when it suffered the same fate as the Public Library that same night, its more modest office building and its machinery burnt down by the same villains, the paper was back in the streets and homes five days, just five days, after that dark night. In a borrowed building helped by borrowed machinery, the paper kept its date with the reader. Jaffna's premier Tamil paper did not wait for public bounty, in order to serve its public.

What is holding up the Jaffna Public Library from serving its public? Buildings? What constitutes a Library? Cement and stone and walls and shelves? No Not even architecture. It is books, books and more books. Edifices and architecture can come in their own good time. The foundations of the unburnt sections of the Library could not have been shaken so badly as to prevent the Library functioning as a temporary measure. Let us get away from this constant obsession about buildings and get to work with the books that are available and the staff that are available. Let us not keep exhibiting the burnt wing of the building like a leprosy patient exposing his diseased body for public pity and public charity. What is required now is only one thing—the will to go on.

Have a heart Mr. Mayor. Have a heart for the hundreds of students who depend on the Library for their future. Have a heart for the little children in Jaffna who are thirsty for the printed word. Have a heart for the hundreds of elders and scholars who have suffered for one year and two months. Let it not be said that Jaffna's leaders and City Fathers are merely continuing the process that hooligans initiated.

A promise to implement the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1957 and make regional autonomy a reality: this is the bait the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (Sirima wing) is holding out to woo the votes of the Tamil speaking people at the next election, both Presidential and General.

Former SLFP Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, K. B. Ratnayake held out this promise at a closed door meeting of SLFP (S) members and sympathisers in the North, at the Jaffna Town Hall on Saturday, 31st July.

Attorney-at-Law P. Kathiravelu, presided as Emeritus Principal C. ('Orator') Subramaniam who was billed to chair the meeting didn't turn up.

SLFP stalwarts in the North, like V. Rajasunderam, and pro - Shanmugathasan Maoists along with some pro-Peking wingers attended the meeting, the Saturday Review learns. A conspicuous SLFP absentee was C. Vinodhan. Altogether there were about 100 members and sympathisers present.

In homely

Jaffna Tamil

Ex-Minister Ratnayake speaking fluent homely Jaffna Tamil answered pointed questions about the SLFP's policy towards the Tamils.

He conceded that the United Left Front Government (of which the SLFP was the major partner) had failed to solve the problems of the Tamils though it had ruled for seven years (1970-77).

But, he argued, this was partly due to the fact that the elected representatives of the Tamil speaking people did not co-operate with the SLFP. "Look at what's

happening now: the ruling United National Party and the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main opposition party, are on "machchan" terms," he said. He accused

the TULF of being more than willing to co-operate whenever the UNP is in power.

Mr. Ratnayake made it clear his party could not accept the Thamil Eelam demand but was prepared to grant regional autonomy on the basis of the B-C Pact.

(Continued on page 12)

Boycott elections call by Prabhakaran



Eelam Liberation "Tiger" Leader Velupillai Prabhakaran who was released on bail in Tamil Nadu this week is opposed to Tamil participation in the forthcoming elections in Sri Lanka, according to Tamil Nadu Lawyer D. V. Radhakrishnan, who conveyed this to the assembly at the World Tamil Eelam Conference held in New York recently.

Mr. Radhakrishnan who is the defence lawyer for Prabhakaran said just before he left for New York he had met Prabhakaran and asked him whether there was anything he wanted conveyed to the New York Convention. Prabhakaran had expressed this view and wanted this conveyed at New York.

The delegates and observers at the Conference, according to eye witnesses, had greeted Mr. Radhakrishnan's disclosure with prolonged applause except TULF leaders Mr. A. Amirthalingam and M. Sivasithambaram.

Meanwhile in Madras the five Tamil Youths involved in the shoot-out at Pondy Bazaar were released on conditional bail. High Court Judge Mr. Singaravelu released Prabhakaran, Uma Maheswaran (Muhunthan), Raghavan, Sivaswaran and Jotheeswaran on condition that they restrict their movements to five separate districts in Tamil Nadu.

A report from Madras states that Mr. S. C. Chandrasaran who had been watching the interests of these Tamil Youths had telephoned from Colombo congratulating and thanking the Tamil Nadu lawyers who had appeared for them.

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Saturday Review

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Jaffna University cadre provision freezed

The University Grants Commission has frozen the cadre provision for the various Faculties in the University of Jaffna at present levels, the Saturday Review learns, thus virtually slamming the door on the expansion of the University.

Some concessions, though have been made to the Medical Faculty and the Science Faculty. The Arts Faculty has been left out in the cold—except the Dept. of Economics which has been given one extra cadre to cope with the Tamil-medium Business Administration students who are to be transferred from the University of Sri Jayawardenepura.

The Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. Stanley Kalpage, who visited the Jaffna University recently along with a Treasury representative, told the Heads of Depts. and the members of the University Council that the cadre provision had to be frozen, as the University's budget showed a deficit.

The Treasury representative is reported to have declared that, in the Treasury's eyes, the University is a mere teaching institution: teacher-student ratio, therefore, is the determinant of policy. He had shrugged off research as not being the Treasury's concern.

Arguments that cadre provision should be increased so that a new University, like the University of Jaffna, could consolidate existing Depts. and develop new ones, fell on plugged ears.

Sources close to the University indicated that UGC Chairman Kalpage's hectoring tone and bluster had so cowed most of the Department Heads and Council Members that they were virtually speechless, like errant schoolboys whose ears had been tweaked by a particularly tyrannical schoolmaster.

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"The freedom of the press is the essence of liberty and this is the source of all other liberties. If this freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid..."

This was what was said on behalf of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the opposition and leader of the United National Party, in submissions made before the Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka by his lawyers in challenging the Press Council Bill in February 1973.

The proposed Council was depicted as a monster whose very existence as a watchdog over the press would mark the beginning of the end of democracy in Sri Lanka.

Despite the vehement opposition of the UNP and the other parties, the United Front Government led by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike passed the bill into law.

The logical thing

— a repeal

The logical thing for Mr. Jayewardene to have done after assuming office in 1977 would have been to repeal the Press Council Law No. 5 of 1973. But just as in a number of spheres where the UNP has acted contrary to its polls pledges and assumed positions when in the opposition, not only has it refrained from abolishing the Council but it is also using the very provisions of the draconian law to ensure that the Press did not go too far in exposing the Government.

Boundaries to

Press Freedom

Not long ago, it drew pointed attention to Sections 16 (1) and (2) of this Law relating to the publication of Cabinet news after the "Weekend" published certain reports.

Section 16 (1) stipulates that "No person shall publish or cause to be published, in any newspaper, any matter which purports to be the proceedings or any part thereof, of a meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers."

Section 16 (2) states that "No person shall publish, or cause to be published in any newspaper—(a) any matter which purports to be the contents or any part of the contents of any document sent by or to all or any of the Ministers to or by the Secretary to the Cabinet of Ministers; or (b) any matter which purports to be a decision or any part of a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers, unless it has been approved for publication in the newspapers by the Secretary of the Cabinet."

The result is that the Press is free to publish only Cabinet news released by

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State (who is in charge of the subject of Media), as Cabinet spokesman after the weekly meeting of the Ministers.

Thus, while the UNP Government repeatedly affirms its firm commitment to the freedom of the press which is one of the fundamental freedoms mentioned in the 1978 Constitution, it could at the same time talk of "boundaries to press freedom," as Mr. Jayewardene did at the Press Foundation of Asia meeting in Colombo in November 1978, and can even contemplate changes to the law of defamation which could ring the deathknell of every newspaper in our country!

If, therefore, the freedom of speech is affected, it would equally affect the freedom of thought.

In such a context an examination of the structure of the press would show that it is an institution created by a developed society to convey the thoughts of the people. It also provides the material for other people to think and form their own opinion. This is of fundamental importance.

By the expression "press" is meant every media such as newspapers, books, magazines and the radio by which the thoughts of the people and the factual data which forms the basis of human thinking is conveyed to the people.



Mrs. Bandaranaike
She passed the law
despite UNP opposition

on universal suffrage both the issuer and recipient of information express themselves through the ballot. In such a system there is always a tendency on the part of those in power who wish to maintain their position of power, to control the publication of data and opinion, because it might ultimately affect their tenure. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see those in power hedging themselves in with restrictions on the publication of data which would be the basis for the formation of public opinion.

It is submitted that in a free society the victory of persuasion over force could be ensured and achieved only by permitting public discussion. A Constitution that seeks to express the aspirations of the people and ensures certain fundamental rights must therefore be interpreted not only against the background of the intentions of the framers of the Constitution but the mandate given by the people to such persons.

What H. W. said on behalf of J. R. in 1973

'No justification for interfering with the Freedom of the Press'

To remind the UNP leadership and our readers of the value of the freedom of the press, the "Saturday Review" will publish in parts, beginning with this issue, the submissions made in the Constitutional Court on behalf of Mr. Jayewardene by his lawyers, who included Messrs H. W. Jayewardene, J. C. Ratwatte, Ranil Wickremesinghe, D. C. Amerasinghe, Mark Fernando, Paul Perera and L. C. Seneviratne.

The freedom of the press is the essence of liberty and this is the source of all other liberties. If this freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid.

Freedom of expression and freedom of speech is the basis of freedom of thought. Speech is the institution by which man gives expression to his right to think freely.

It is submitted that there are two priorities involved in the concept of freedom of speech, namely—(a) the source from which the communication issues, and (b) perhaps the more important one, the recipient of the communication.

The freedom to express one's thoughts is confined to a few compared to the wider circle to which the freedom of expression is extended in so far as the recipient is concerned, namely, the community. It is in the freedom of the recipient that public opinion has its birth. The press provides the data by which such opinions find their fullest expression. Therefore, it is man's right as the recipient of information to seek it from as many sources as possible.

If however, the sources of information become con-

centrated in one, or restricted to a few bodies, then the formation of ideas is limited. It is in such circumstances only proper that the sources of information available to the public should be enlarged rather than restricted; therefore, there can be no justification for interference with the freedom of the press.

Freedom of speech

requires courage

Freedom of speech requires courage. If a person who gives information is timid or is reluctant to give facts then the formation of public opinion is restricted. The placing of any restrictions on the communication of data and opinion as hitherto communicated to the public is a matter which merits the closest attention of any tribunal.

It is submitted that in a system of government based

It is submitted, therefore, that the fundamental rule of interpretation especially of constitutional documents is to examine the thoughts which guided the enactors of the fundamental law, the motives and reasons which prompted the draftsmen of the particular constitutional instrument. A reference therefore to the United Front Manifesto, which was claimed to be the basis upon which the Constituent Assembly received a mandate from the people to frame a Constitution:

"We seek your mandate to permit the Members of Parliament you elect to function simultaneously as a Constitutional Assembly to draft, adopt and operate a new Constitution. This Constitution will declare Ceylon to be a free, sovereign and independent Republic pledged to realise the objective of a socialist democracy; and it will also secure fundamental rights and freedoms to all citizens"

(To be continued)

LETTERS

The Jaffna Library and the Sinhala intellectuals

26, Peterson Lane,
Colombo 6,
3rd August, 1982.

Editor,
"Saturday Review",
118, 4th Cross Street,
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

I refer to your editorial of July 31st under the headline "Maname and St. Mathew". Talking of the want of response from Sinhala intellectual opinion over the burning of the Jaffna Public Library, you have paid a well deserved compliment to Mr. Reggie Siriwardene. But in saying that "Sinhala intellectual opinion failed to respond to the challenge at that time" you are not being quite fair by a host of others in the south who reacted forcefully to that sad occurrence.

As a regular reader and admirer of your paper I must crave your indulgence for some space in this connection. I am submitting three items from published sources to bring out to you and your readers the sense of shock and grief caused by the burning of the Library among the Sinhala intellectuals.

Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke in a letter dated 4th July, 1981 addressed to Fr. Paul Caspersz, President, Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality said:

"Dear Paul, Knowing you as I do, I can well imagine how totally grieved and depressed you must be over the loathsome tragedy of a month ago, and I can see, from your reports of May and June this year, the concerned and resolute determination with which you have pursued your unhappy investigations, and written of them with a clinical and cleansing passion and perception.

"In the entire catalogue of carnage, arson, pillage and murder which you have so courageously documented, the complete destruction

by an act of calculated and coldblooded incendiarism of the splendid Jaffna Public Library is the most wounding to the sensibility of our brethren in the North, and must outrage the humane feelings of every person in the land, whatever his political, racial or religious persuasion. Containing over 90,000 volumes, this notable library was the second largest public library in the island, and possessed a rich and diverse collection of valuable literary material, some of them irreplaceable. It was a distinct cultural landmark in the peninsula, and served the purpose of an intellectual resource centre.

"The wanton and senseless despoliation of a major repository of knowledge and learning is a national calamity and, perhaps, the most dastardly episode of vandalism in the modern history of Sri Lanka. The gutted building is a grim testimonial to savage and bestial tendencies of communal hate, and even more saddening and shocking is the knowledge that the blindly chauvinist exponents of this culture incineration were apparently operating under the sinister patronage of public sector terrorism. No level of official explanation (and curiously enough, none has been forthcoming so far), or farfetched apologies conjured up to suit each facesaving speculation can excuse this irrational atrocity.

"State-sponsored fanaticism was let loose in the city of Jaffna between May 31st and June 4th, and mayhem and terror stalked the streets, but with an implacable resolution and unmatched courage the Jaffna voter, brushing the ashes off his stricken face, administered a fitting coup-de-grace to his faceless enemy. In the indomitable spirit of this unquenched ardour, the library will surely rise again to light

the way and shine like a brighter beacon. May the restitution of this gap in the national heritage become a symbolic cornerstone of amity, concord and unity between the people of the South and the North...."

The following 16 signatories in a letter dated 10th June, 1981 wrote to Mr. M. J. Perera, Chairman, Sri Lanka National Library Services Board:

Dear Mr. Perera, we were grievously shocked and surprised to have confirmation in the report of yesterday's parliamentary proceedings of the wanton act of arson, which has destroyed the second largest Public Library in this country. The Jaffna Public Library was a notable cultural landmark in the principal city of the northern peninsula and served the purpose of an intellectual resource centre, possessing a rich and diverse collection of materials, some of them irreplaceable.

This example of vandalism is, perhaps, unique in the modern history of Sri Lanka and needs to be censured in the severest possible terms. It is especially saddening to learn that this savagery appears to have been perpetrated by official agents of a Government pledged to preserving law and order and maintaining the peace.

We address you as concerned citizens professing intellectual interests in the hope that the Sri Lanka National Library Services Board will do all in its power to activate public opinion on this tragic issue....

Signed by: H. A. I. Goonetilleke, K. Karunanayake, Sydney Wanasinghe, B. Weerasekera, P. Kumarasiri, G. Kurukulasuriya, W. Diyasena, R. A. M. C. Wanigaratne, S. Mahendran, Victor Gunawardena, Ediriweera Sarachchandra, Stanley Senaratne, K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, V. Kanesalingam, R. Asirvatham, Tilak Gunawardena.

Mr. M. J. Perera in a letter dated 15th June, 1981 addressed to Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke responded promptly and stated how the letter was placed before a meeting of the Board that same day and pledging support to the restoration of the Jaffna Library.

The third document I wish to bring to your notice is an appeal made by the Citizens Committee for National Harmony under the headline "Library: an appeal for expiation" signed by the follow-

ing: Mr. Godfrey Goonetilleke, Tissa Balasuriya, C. M. I; Prof. E. R. Sarathchandra, Bp. Leo Nanayakkara O.S.B.; Dr. Gunadasa Amarasekera, Dr. Carlo Fonseka, Mr. Norbert Mawalage, Mr. G. Kurukulasuriya, Ms. Kusala Abhayawardhana, Mr. Victor Gunawardena, Rev. Celestine Fernando, Sr. Helene Marguerite H. F.; Mr. S. Nadesan Q.C.; Mr. A. Samarajeeva; Mr. H. A. Ian Goonetilleke, M. H. Mohideen, Mr. Bernadeen Silva,

Rev. Yohan Devananda, Mr. Hector Abhayawardhana, Mr. K. Kanthasamy, Sr. Rose Fernando, Ph. D.; Dr. B. Kanesalingam, Mr. Rex Wanigaratne, Mr. Donovan Moldrich, Mr. Richard Dias, Ms. Manel Fonseka and Al-Haj S. M. A. Raschid. (Lanka Guardian-July 1st, 1981).

Yours sincerely,
A. Wimalathasan.

(We stand corrected ---Editor SR)

'Ban loudspeakers during ungodly hours'

3rd Cross Street,
Jaffna.
1-8-1982.

Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.
Sir,

Apropos your interesting piece, and coda, headlined **When does Music stop being Music and become a noise?** (SR, 31 July), you are right. Religious institutions and places of worship have taken over from tea kiosks and wedding-houses the comparatively new-fangled practice of setting up loud-speakers and broadcasting the good news to whomsoever it may or may not concern.

This practice is not confined to any one religion nowadays. Whenever religious festivals come round (when all the religions are put together, almost the

whole year is one big religious festival), everyone's sleep--- the believer's, the unbeliever's and the non-believer's--- is rudely shattered. From the early hours of the morning till very late in the night not only chants, prayers and devotional hymns but also the latest film hits pour forth, cacophonous wave after wave. Not even the legendary sleeper Kumbakarnan could have withstood such assault and battery on his ears.

I'd like to suggest through the columns of your very lively paper that the authorities (un)concerned should ban the use of loud-speakers at such ungodly hours. The believer is physically present, anyway, at the place of worship. The others who prefer to be cast into the outer darkness can at least enjoy their snores in peace.

Yours,
A mini Kumbakarnan

Member of the audience questions R. M. P. speaker's claim in Jaffna

The Revolutionary Marxist Party held a General Meeting at Trimmer Hall Jaffna on Saturday, 24th July. The speaker Mr. Dias outlined the stand they took on various significant events in Sri Lanka and abroad such as the capture of the Tamil youth leaders Uma Maheswaran and Prabhakaran, the Israeli aggression in Lebanon etc.

At question time an argument ensued when a member of the audience questioned the speaker on his assertion that the R.M.P. was the only real marxist Party in Sri Lanka and that others though their strength was greater were reactionary. The questioner said that all Left inclined parties were saying the same thing and

as a result there were a number of small groups each going its own way, without any significant power to overthrow a bourgeoisie government. To this Mr. Dias replied that they stood by principles at any cost and that they would never align with any unprincipled groups for the sake of strength.

On the question of Tamil leadership, Mr. Dias said that they recognised the TULF as a progressive force in as much as they stood for the right of an oppressed people. The questioner then drew an analogy saying that Mr. D. S. Senanayake also could be considered a 'progressive' leader as he had stood against white oppression.

S. Nadesan Q. C. on Free & Fair Elections — II

(Continued from last issue)

The role of the Commissioner of Elections

What is more, even a public servant like the head of a Department cannot be removed by the President or the Cabinet, which can take action against him on the ground of ill health or physical incapacity only after he goes before a medical board and is condemned by such board. None of these safeguards have been provided in the case of the Commissioner of Elections. A weak Commissioner may find it easy to please the President by ascertaining his views as to what he should do in important election matters and comply with the President's wishes instead of standing for principles and not permitting any interference by anybody. A future President, who may not be very much concerned with the niceties of democracy, may even direct the Commissioner of Elections to exercise his discretion in matters relating to elections, under the threat that if he does not do so he will be removed from office, and the poor Commissioner of Elections may think it best to accede to the request of the President as otherwise he may find himself unemployed without even a pension. The Commissioner is thus in a worse position than other heads of departments.

The Soulbury Constitution

The Soulbury Constitution makes a similar provision for the removal of the Commissioner of Elections but has built in the necessary safeguards. The Constitution makes provision for the Commissioner of Elections vacating his office "by his removal by the Governor General on the ground of ill health or physical infirmity in like circumstances and subject to the same conditions as a public officer in receipt of similar pensionable emoluments." This brings in the public services regulations and pension rights. The important words "in like circumstances and subject to the same conditions as a public officer in receipt of similar pensionable emoluments" were omitted from the corresponding section of the 1972 Constitution for some mysterious reason. Our present Constitution has repeated the provision contained in the 1972 Constitution word for word. The Soulbury Constitution also contained a provision which stated that the Commissioner of Elections vacates his office upon an address from the Senate and the House of Representatives praying for his removal. One of these Houses, the Senate, had

nothing to do with the work of the Commissioner of Elections, and could approach the issue of his removal with detachment. Besides, the Soulbury Constitution made the Constitutional Conventions prevailing in England applicable in several respects to Sri Lanka.

Once the Senate was abolished, this safeguard afforded against the unjust removal of the Commissioner of Elections ceased to be.

The provision of our Constitution with regard to the removal of the Commissioner of Elections is identical with the provision in the 1972 Constitution. But in the 1972 Constitution the provision with regard to removal of Judges of the Supreme Court is different.

The 1972 and 1977 Constitutions

The 1972 Constitution provided that the Judges of the Supreme Court shall hold office during good behaviour and shall not be removed except by the President upon an address of the National State Assembly. In this regard the 1972 Constitution treated the Judges of the Supreme Court in the same manner as the Commissioner of Elections.

The authors of the present Constitution obviously found that this was not a way of ensuring the independence of the Judiciary but of undermining it as a Judge of the Supreme Court could be removed from office by a majority in Parliament for inadequate or flimsy reasons. Accordingly, they made elaborate provisions to which reference has already been made regarding the removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court and above these provisions they stated in bold letters "Independence of the Judiciary". Thus they have no doubts in their minds as to what was necessary to ensure the independence of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Did the authors of the Constitution attach equal

importance to the independence of the Commissioner of Elections? If so, why did they not make a similar provision in respect of the Commissioner and emphasise the fact that he was independent.

It is all important that provisions similar to those applicable to the Supreme Court should be made in respect of the Commissioner of Elections, for two reasons. Firstly, members of the public including members of Parliament and Ministers, will know that the Commissioner of Elections is independent, and is not subject to the control and direction of the Executive. Secondly, the Commissioner of Elections himself, who may have been a senior public servant attached to some Ministry who has been used to follow the directions of the Secretary to the Ministry or the Minister himself, should know clearly in his new appointment that he is completely independent and is not subject to the directions of anybody. There is also the additional fact that the Commissioner of Elections will feel safe and secure when he discharges his duties as Commissioner solely according to the law and without fear or favour.

Development Council elections

Some happenings in respect of the Development Council Elections which took place recently makes one uneasy as to whether the Commissioner of Elections is permitting himself to be influenced by the Executive in the matter of the proper conduct of the elections for which the responsibility is entirely his.

Under the election laws under which all parliamentary elections since independence have been held in respect of each electorate in which elections are held, the Presiding Officers at the various polling stations at the conclusion of the poll are required to seal the ballot boxes and transport them to the counting station which

is usually a central place like the Registrar General's Office or a Government Kachcheri. The law required that first a tally should be taken of the number of votes cast at each polling station, and that before the counting takes place all the ballot papers from the various polling stations should be all mixed up, and thereafter the ballot papers should be sorted out and counted. This ensures that no one will be able to know from the count how the voters attached to a particular polling station polled.

Separate counting

There are in various electorates pockets of communities who live in the same locality whose common bond is race, religion, caste or occupation. Polling stations are often established in such localities. At the counting it will not be possible to know how these communities voted as all these votes are mixed up with the rest of the votes in the electorate before the counting takes place. If, however, the votes in each polling station are separately counted, it will be possible to ascertain how persons of a locality in which a small community is resident voted. If the voters knew that the votes in respect of each polling station will be separately counted then that small community may fear to vote for a party which may not succeed in the elections though it agrees with the party's policies, merely because if it so votes its members may not get jobs and their locality may be deprived of all amenities by the party that forms the Government. For this reason, they may fear to vote for the party whose policies they may regard as of lasting benefit to the country.

The Secrecy of the ballot

Thus it is important that the secrecy of the ballot should extend not only to the individual voter but also to the community of which he forms a part. That is why

earlier elections law made this provision of mixing up the ballot papers from all polling stations before the count takes place. This provision which appeared in the Elections law in 1946 has continued unchanged up to date despite several amendments that have taken place.

If today a member of Parliament elected to Parliament in terms of the old law is unseated on an election petition, the new election will have to take place under the old law and the ballot boxes of all polling stations will have to be mixed together before the count takes place.

The Elections Department, from the time of the first elections under the Soulbury Constitution up to the very last elections in 1977 and the subsequent by-elections that have taken place, are quite familiar with the procedures required by the law.

The Department knows what precautions should be taken at the various polling stations and what precautions should be taken for the transport of the ballot boxes to the Kachcheries; it has framed rules and circulars to guide officers in carrying out its tasks, has categorized the type of officers who should be appointed as Returning Officers, Presiding Officers, Counting Officers etc. and has held classes to instruct these officers in the proper discharge of the respective work allotted to them.

Proportional representation

As a result of the introduction of proportional representation, a similar provision in the new election law would have meant the mixing together of the votes cast in all the polling stations in the entire electoral districts before the count takes place. The new Elections law could have made such a provision. Instead, the provision that has now been made is for the Returning Officer to determine the counting centres and the polling station or stations assigned to each counting centre. There is no provision regarding the mixing up of the ballot papers at any counting centre before the sorting out begins. The law did not say how many polling stations should be attached to each counting centre. These were matters which were left by the new law to the Returning Officer who in turn is subject to the directions of the Commissioner of Elections.

(To be continued)

Who is Sir Jafna Pandranath?

Who is, or who was, Sir Jafna Pandranath? Nobody will know him because he is not a real person. He was a character in a play written by the famous Irish Playwright George Bernard Shaw!

According to Eric Bentley, the faithful Shavian, dozens of Bernard Shaw's characters are portraits of his friends. But considering the fact that Shaw enjoyed the longest career in the British Theatre and had been writing plays from as early as 1885 to as recent as 1939—not many friends of his appear to have had the privilege of being portrayed in his plays.

The best known of the privileged lot(?) was Professor Gilbert Murray who 'features' as a young Professor of Greek in 'Major Barbara'—Adolphus Cusins. Now the question arises was it a friend of his who is featured by the name of Sir Jafna Pandranath and if so, who was he?

The play in which Sir Jafna Pandranath appears as a character was written in 1933, but it is one of the least known plays of Shaw; a farcical political comedy in two Acts, its entire action takes place in the Cabinet Room in No. 10, Downing Street, Westminster, London—the official residence of the British Prime Minister.

The play opens with the illustrious holder of the office of the Prime Minister Sir Arthur Chavender reading "The Times" on the hearth under a portrait of Walpole. Sir Arthur incidentally is the Liberal leader heading a National Government—and having constant troubles with his Conservative colleagues.

The other major political characters in the play are Sir Broadfoot Basham, the Commissioner of Police, Sir Dexter Rightside, (Dexy) the Conservative Party leader, Admiral Sir Benrose Hotspot (Rosy), a "half-witted admiral", and Mr. Glenmorison the Scottish President of the Board of Trade.

Into this august group of five Big Guns, having smalltime political quarrels walks in a new personality. The woman secretary announces: Sir Jafna Pandranath:

Yes it is the Shavian version of "He comes from Jaffna" with one 'f' less.

Now read on from there:—

HILDA (announcing) *Sir Jafna Pandranath.*

(She withdraws).

This announcement creates a marked sensation. All five gentlemen rise as if to receive a royal personage. Sir Jafna is an elderly Cinghese plutocrat, small and slender to the verge of emaciation, elegantly dressed, but otherwise evidently too much occupied and worried by making money to get any fun out of spending it. One guesses that he must make a great deal of it; for the reverence with which he is received by the five Britons, compared with their unceremonious handling of one another, is almost sycophantic.

SIR JAFNA. Hallo! Am I breaking into a Cabinet meeting?

SIR ARTHUR. No! not a bit. Only a few friendly callers. Pray sit down.

SIR DEXTER (offering the end chair to the visitor) You are welcome Sir Jafna most welcome. You represent money; and money brings fools to their senses.

SIR JAFNA. Money! Not at all. I am a poor man. I never know from one moment to another whether I am worth thirteen millions or only three. (He sits down. They all sit down).

SIR BEMROSE. I happen to know, Sir Jafna, that your enterprises stand at twenty millions today at the very least.

GLENMORISON. Fifty.

SIR JAFNA. How do you know? How do you know? The way I am plundered at every turn! (To Sir Dexter) Your people take the shirt off my back.

SIR DEXTER. My people! What on earth do you mean?

SIR JAFNA. Your land monopolists. Your blackmailers. Your robber barons. Look at my Blayport Docks reconstruction scheme! Am I a public benefactor or am I not? Have I not enough to live on and die on without troubling myself about Blayport. Shall I be any the happier when it has ten square miles of docks instead of a tuppenny-hapeny fishing harbor? What have I to gain except the satisfaction of seeing a

big publicly useful thing well done, and the knowledge that without me it could not be done? Shall I not be half ruined if it fails?

SIR BEMROSE. Well, what's wrong with it, old chap?

SIR JAFNA. Rosy: you make me puke. What is wrong with it is that the owners of all the miles of land that are indispensable to any scheme, and that without it would not be worth fifteen pounds an acre, are opening their mouths so wide that they will grab sixty per cent of the profit without lifting a finger except to pocket the wealth that I shall create. I live, I work, I plan, I shatter my health and risk all I possess only to enrich

his letters until he has agreed to pay them from five hundred to a thousand a year. He can't even die without paying them for a grave to lie in. Make them disgorge, Arthur, Skin them alive. Tax them twenty shillings in the pound. Make them earn their own living, damn them. (He wipes his brow and adds, rather hysterically) Excuse me, boys; but if you saw the Blayport estimates! (he can no more)

SIR DEXTER. May I ask you to address yourself to this question not as an emotional oriental (Sir Jafna chokes convulsively) but as a sane man of business. If you destroy the incomes of our landed gentry where will you find the capital



Playwright Bernard Shaw

these parasites, these vampires, these vermin in the commonwealth. (Shrieking) Yes: vermin! (Subsiding) You were quite right at the Guildhall last night, Arthur: you must nationalize the land and put a stop to this shameless exploitation of the financiers and entrepreneurs by a useless, idle, and predatory landed class.

SIR ARTHUR (chuckling) Magnificent! I have the support of the City.

SIR JAFNA. To the last vote, to the last penny. These think nothing of extorting a million an acre for land in the city. A man cannot have an address in London for

that exists solely through their prudent saving—their abstinence?

SIR JAFNA. Bah pooh! Pooh bah! I will find it where they find it, in the product of the labor I employ. At present I have to pay exorbitant and unnecessary wages. Why? Because out of those wages the laborer has to pay half or quarter as rent to the landlord. The laborer is ignorant; he thinks he is robbed by the landlord; but the robbed victim is me—ME! Get rid of the landlord and I shall have all the capital he now steals. In addition I shall have cheap labor. That is not oriental emotion; it is British common-

sense. I am with you, Arthur, to the last drop of my oriental blood. Nationalized land; compulsory labour; abolition of rates: strikes made criminal: I heartily endorse them all in the name of Capital and private enterprise. I say nothing about the rest of your program, Arthur; but on these points no true Liberal can question your magnificent statesmanship.

SIR ARTHUR (delighted) You hear that, Dexy, Put that in your pipe and smoke it.

HILDA (announcing) His Grace the Duke of Domesday. (She goes out) An elderly delicately built aristocrat comes in. Well preserved but nearer 70 than 60.

THE DUKE (surprised to see so many people) Do I intrude, Arthur? I thought you were disengaged.

SIR ARTHUR. Not at all. Only a talk over last night. Make yourself at home.

SIR DEXTER. You come in the nick of time. Sir Jafna here has just been qualifying you as a bloodsucker, a pirate, a parasite, a robber baron and finally as vermin. Vermin! How do you like it?

THE DUKE (Calmly taking the end chair nearest the window, on Basham's left) I wonder why the epithet robber is applied only to barons. You never hear of robber dukes; yet my people have done plenty of robbery in their time. (With a sigh of regret) Ah, that's all over now. The robbers have become the robbed. I wish you would create some intermediate class of honest folk. I dislike your calling me vermin, Arthur.

SIR ARTHUR. I didn't. It was Jafna.

THE DUKE. Ungrateful Jafna! He is buying up my Blayport estate for next to nothing.

SIR JAFNA. Next to nothing! Holy Brahma!

THE DUKE (continuing) He will make millions out of it. After paying off the mortgages I shall get three and a half per cent on what is left to me out of the beggarly price he offers; and on that three and a half I shall be income-

(Continued next page)

(Continued from page 6)

taxed and surtaxed. Jafna's grandsons will go to Eton. Mine will go to a Polytechnic.

SIR BEMROSE. Send them to Dartmouth, old chap. There's a career for them in the navy now that Arthur is at the helm.

SIR DEXTER. A lieutenant's pay and pension for the future Duke of Domesday! That's the proposition, is it?

THE DUKE. He will be lucky to have any pay at all. But I shall support you in any case, Arthur. You have at last publicly admitted that the death duties are unsound in principle and promised to abolish them. That will save us from utter extinction in three generations; and the landed classes are with you to the last man for it. Accept the humble gratitude of a pauperised duke.

SIR DEXTER. And the rest of the program. Do you swallow that too?

THE DUKE. I doubt if the rest of the program will come off. Besides, I don't pretend to understand it. By the way, Sir Jafna, I wish you would take Domesday Towers off my hands for a while. I can't afford to live in it. I can't afford even to keep it dusted. You can have it for a hundred a year.

SIR JAFNA. Too far from town.

THE DUKE. Not by aeroplane. Do think it over.

SIR JAFNA shrugs his shoulders and intimates that it is hopeless. The Duke resigns himself to the expected.

SIR ARTHUR. Dexy: you are in a minority of one. The landlords are on my side. The capitalists, big and little, are on my side. The fighting services are on my side. The Police are on my side. If you leave us you go out into the wilderness alone. What have you to say?

SIR DEXTER. I have to say that you are a parcel of blind fools. You are trying to scuttle the ship on the chance of each of you grabbing a share of the insurance money. But the Country will deal with you. The Country does not want change. The Country never has wanted change. The Country never will want change. And because I will resist change while I have breath in my body I shall not be alone in England. You have all deserted me and betrayed your party; but I warn you that though I am utterly alone in this room....

(To be continued)

How to kill the DOWRY EVIL ?

There are two deadly cancers that are gnawing the vitals of Hindu Tamil Society both in India and Sri Lanka. They are the caste system and the dowry evil.

In India the burning of brides and bride suicides as a result of wrangles over dowries have shot up to an all-time high. The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. P. Venkata Suppiah said in the Rajya Sabha recently that the government was considering the amendment of the Dowry Prohibition Act to make it more effective. Although dowries were banned under the 1961 law, enforcement of the law has become virtually impossible. The total number of deaths of both males and females from burning following dowry disputes in the Union Territory of Delhi was 453 in 1980 and 595 in 1981. Within the first six months of this year 294 such deaths had been recorded.

THE ROT FROM WITHIN

In Tamil Society in Sri Lanka, especially the Hindu Society, the dowry evil has shown no signs of losing its grip. While Tamil Society is engaged in a battle against formidable evils from outside, the battle to stop the rot that has set in within it, is no less urgent.

A former Governor of Tamil Nadu addressing a seminar on "DOWRY SYSTEM AS A SOCIAL EVIL AND THE MEASURES TO ERADICATE IT" held in Madras a few years ago said:

Murders, suicides, horrors, tortures, atrocities, coercions, threats, taunts, lamentations, extortions, pesterings, desertions and what not! These are daily occurrences being the symptoms of the dowry epidemic.

Today, we notice off and on many of our young blooming brides facing this tragic ordeal. Wailing mothers rush here and there in vain.

A daughter is fondled, caressed, educated and trained under the fostering care and loving guidance of the mother. But it is unfortunate that in many cases, from the time the bride enters the husband's portals she has to face the taunts, grumbings, teasings and abuses from the in-laws in cases where the dowry is not

satisfactory to them. And, if the bride is not in a position to quench the unsatiable thirst of the in-laws, troubles start one by one and ultimately the Yamadev has to yield. Deliberate, deceitful and dviceful killings are witnessed.

Cowardly neighbours become blind to see the shining flames of the burning brides. Bug-poison, kerosene bottles, water wells and such other strong defence witnesses stand to support the suicide theory of the husband. The offender is rarely apprehended but why blame only the corrupt constable or callous administration when in the country corruption and black market thrive everywhere without shame or fear

by a Staff Writer

The present laws need to be made more stringent. In a case of suspected suicide of a young married bride, the law must treat it as a murder and the burden of proof should be shifted to the accused to prove his innocence. Provisions should also be made for a thorough checking about apparent voluntary gifts but which is reality are nothing but a condition of marriage.

CREATING A STRONG PUBLIC OPINION

The Government, quasi-Government bodies, Corporations, business concerns, educational institutions, etc., must have also a code of conduct for their employees for banning of giving or taking of dowry.

Lavish, ostentatious and fantastic expenditure on marriages dinners and social functions must also be adequately controlled. This burden is often shifted to the bride's parents. But the law alone cannot control the evil: The parents of the girl cannot afford to inform the Police lest their daughter is either destroyed or deserted or ill-treated by the in-laws.

We must create a very strong public opinion for condemnation of this degrading practice and a climate must be created so that the evil-doers be afraid of committing this heinous crime. For exposing the evil, conferences, seminars. Radio,

television, films, dramas and all the media of propaganda must be harnessed fully. Poets, dramatists and others should also highlight this issue. Lessons against the dowry evil must be included in the text-books of students. An Anti-dowry Day must be celebrated in every town and village where along with other programmes, the scene of burning the Dowry demon can also be included.

A movement must be launched to see that girls get the job-oriented education. They must be made self-reliant and self-supporting so that they can stand on their own legs with self-respect and dignity. This will minimise the anxieties of the parents.

Today, Colleges and Universities have sizable number

candidates standing for elections must of course take the solemn pledge against dowry before they seek votes from ladies.

Institutions and devoted workers must find out other effective strategies also to save our sisters from this abominable curse.

Resolutions or eloquent speeches from public platforms or legislative forums will not suffice. We have to devise dynamic measures to arouse the conscience of the society. Let us all untiringly work for creating the collective will and I am confident that what law has failed to secure, the people themselves will achieve....

Here is a verse that appeared in the Letters to the Editor column in the HINDU recently:

A FATHER'S WOES

Sir,—Are you a father of a daughter?
I know you are in troubled water
I pity you really, oh! really,
For society treats you so cruelly.

You bring up your daughter with affection,
Give her food, and higher direction,
She grows to be a girl lovely,
Brings happiness to the entire family.

Years roll by, very very soon
She is now beautiful like full moon
Clouds cross your handsome face,
From now on you have no solace.

Search for the bridegroom starts
With no dearth of insults and hurts
People have no respect for you,
For your education and qualities too.

All they want is solid gold,
Your ability to spend Cash-cold.
If you don't meet their demand,
They refuse, in turn, your daughter's hand.

When will our country awaken,
To help such girls in number swollen,
To live decent normal lives
And not die like faded leaves?

M. Govindarajulu
Bangalore

Archaeological research in the North

In South Asia as a whole, a genuine, systematic study of the remains of the past, which archaeology deals with, dates back to the time of the British. However, their tradition was continued after independence, when the Dept. of Archaeology was manned by local people and research into our past was in their hands. Although considerable research was done on the Pre-history of the Island, Proto-history was largely neglected. Here, by Pre-history I mean, a phase of man's life before he became literate. This is usually associated with the Stone Ages. Proto-history is really a twilight period of history which again was the forerunner of the historical period. In Sri Lanka this phase (proto-history) can be associated with the introduction of iron and the legendary period of our history, starting with Prince Vijaya. However it could be safely asserted that the iron-using Megalithic culture about which we shall speak of in detail later, penetrated this island during the legendary period circa 6 cent. B. C. or a few centuries preceding it.

Neglect of proto-history

As I mentioned earlier, during the time of the British although considerable work was done on the Pre-history of the Island, Proto-history was largely neglected. This was the situation in India too. But, there, with the coming of independence the Archaeological Survey of India as well as the Universities and other allied research institutes did much work in unravelling the Pre and Proto-historic past of the sub-continent. As a result of this, today we get a fairly comprehensive picture about the Pre and Proto-history of the sub-continent.

Historical archaeology

Ironically enough, with the neglect of the Pre and Proto-history of our Island, the orientation of our Archaeological work was largely towards historical Archaeology. Our phase of historical Archaeology begins with the rule of Devanampiya Tissa, in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. during whose time Buddhism was introduced here. From this time onwards innumerable archaeological data in the form of inscriptions, coins, monuments etc. have become the source material for Archaeologists. However this bias towards historical archaeology has been due to certain other factors as well. The role of the Pali chronicles in the reconstruction of our histori-

cal period and the position of Buddhism are certainly some of the major factors which moulded this line of our approach towards our past. As a result of this our approach to the past has been largely towards historical archaeology or rather towards clearing and restoration of monuments. Because of this, much of the valuable data relating to the other facets of life remained unstudied. Interestingly enough one can see some change in recent years. In the field of Pre-History notable contributions were made by the late P. E. P. Deraniyagala, who was then the Director of the National Museum, Colombo. His son, Siran Deraniyagala, who is at present the Asst. Director of Archaeology has made and is making a major break-through in this field of Pre-history.

In the field of Proto-history the first scientific excavation of its kind in Sri Lanka was done in 1969 by Siran Deraniyagala at the Gedige

and antiquities of the past in relation to the rest of the Island. However, Boake's excavations at Mantai in the last quarter of the last century was also another significant contribution towards our past. (Boake 1887) Two other notable contributions about the north in the last century were *A Manual of Vanni District* by J. P. Lewis published in 1895 and *Mannar: A Monograph* by W. J. S. Boake published in 1888. Of these the former is interesting and valuable in the sense that it gives a fairly comprehensive account of the society, topography, economy and archaeology of the Wannai region.

Now, coming to Paul Pieris, although he was an amateur in his field like Boake, yet their grasp of the potentiality of the areas they studied is worthy of mention. At Kantarodai, Paul Pieris discovered the ruins of the bases of the stupas, Buddha Statues and coins. His discovery of punch marked

continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail. I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement before Vijaya was born. I consider it as proved that at any rate such was its condition before the commencement of the Christian era".

Then he continued,

"I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated the fact that neglected Jaffna is not unworthy of the attention of an archaeologist. When again a trained man is placed in charge of the work in Ceylon, I hope he will not ignore the Tamil districts. I venture to express the conviction that the archaeology of Ceylon cannot be understood and should not be studied apart from the Archaeology of India, and that it is a pity that the great knowledge and experience which is available in India, should not be taken advantage of in the work here."

I purposely repeated the

were in their assessment of Kantarodai.

She also made a rapid survey of the Peninsula in 1967. At Vallipuram, Nagarkovil and Kudatanai piles of broken potsherds and other antiquities were found by her. However she confessed that it was rather difficult to establish the chronology of the pottery of these places as in the case of Kantarodai which prompted her to undertake a limited excavation here.

A passing reference should be made to the other Antiquarians of the Peninsula such as Mudaliyar Rasanayagam (1926) Father Gnana-prakasas (1928) and C. S. Navaratnam (1958) who stressed the archaeological importance of the eastern coast. When Mudaliyar Rasanayagam published his monumental work on Jaffna, namely *Ancient Jaffna*, in 1926, he argued that Kantarodai, or Kathiramalai on the Valukkiyaru basin was the capital of the region during Pre-Christian times and till a few centuries after Christ as well. According to him, Singainagar was the other capital of the Early Kings of Jaffna, before they shifted to Nallur later. Both Rasanayagam and Gnana-prakasas argued that Singainagar may be close to Vallipuram and it was on the eastern coast. The basis for this conclusion was the heap of antiquities found in the Kantarodai and Vallipuram areas. C. S. Navaratnam too when he published his *Tamils and Ceylon* in 1958 said that "The eastern part of the Jaffna Peninsula is remarkable for the extensive remains of buildings along the coast. There must have been a high road running from Singainagar probably to the centre of the Island. The following places are dotted with the ruins of buildings: Amban, Nagarkovil, Kudarappu, Chempiyampattu, Mulliyan and Vettalaikerni."

Pre-historic

past

Now, before coming to the results of the excavations at Kantarodai, let us see what we know about the Pre-historic past of the Jaffna Peninsula. Actually speaking there is no evidence so far for the Pre-historic population living here. As we all know, Stone Age sites especially of late stone age or Mesolithic have been found beyond Mankulam throughout the Island. These people seem to have lived here some 8000 years ago. Moreover these artifacts do offer a close parallel with similar artifacts from Tamilnadu as clearly pointed out by Allichin and others.

(Continued next page)

By

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area, of the citadel mound of the old Capital of Sri Lanka, Anuradhapura. This was followed by excavations in Kantarodai in the North and Pomparippu in the Puttalam district by a team from the Pennsylvania Museum in 1970.

Now, coming to Northern Sri Lanka, Sir Paul Pieris' explorations and excavations in the Jaffna Peninsula during the closing years of the second decade of the present century, I believe represent pioneering archaeological work in the Peninsula. (Pieris Paul 1917 1919). It doesn't mean that no discovery of any sort was made before his time. For instance as far back as 1846, the eastern coast, especially the Vallipuram area came to the limelight. For it was here some 7000 coins were discovered along with a buried human skeleton. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of these at present. Even during the time of the British the Northernmost parts of Sri Lanka, however, remained a neglected area in the collection of historical records

coins, which are known in our local usage as kahapanas or puranas is significant. This showed that at Kantarodai, people were using the earliest coinage of Sri Lanka which is ascribable to circa 4 - 3rd cent. B.C., as in the other parts of Sri Lanka. Later these coins were found by him at Vallipuram as well. The credit of establishing Kantarodai and Vallipuram of Northern Sri Lanka as archaeological mines certainly goes to him. Even now his words on Kantarodai, are worthy of repetition in view of the discoveries made there nearly half a century after. Paul Pieris with regard to Kantarodai, said;

"It will be seen that the village of Kantarodai has no reason to be ashamed of its contribution to our knowledge regarding the ancient history of our Island. It stands to reason that a country which is only 30 miles from India and which would have been seen by Indian fishermen every morning as they sailed to catch their fish would have been occupied as soon as the

words of Paul Pieris, which have without any doubt proved prophetic in the light of explorations and excavations conducted in Northern Sri Lanka by Vimala Begley of the Pennsylvania Museum in 1967 and 1970. She said, exactly half a century after Paul Pieris, referring to the North "the area was preferred for two reasons. First of all because of its close proximity to the Indian mainland and frequent cultural and commercial traffic between the two from the parts on the north western coast, it was believed that close parallels could be expected and could easily be recognised which would provide data for comparative dating of cultures of the Island. Secondly the area represents a more or less similar ecological environment as the mainland which is frequently conducive to movement and settlement of agricultural communities from similar background". The results of her excavation at Kantarodai showed how correct she and Paul Pieris

Ever since Japan invaded Thailand and Burma in 1941/42 cutting off this country's rice supplies from abroad, planners and policy makers have been making efforts for self-sufficiency in rice. Self-sufficiency seems to have been worked on the basis of providing each citizen with two measures of rice per week (about 95 kilograms per year). In the past the Food Commissioner has worked on the basis of about 100 kilograms of rice per person per year as the total requirements so as to estimate the import requirements (The average for the 7 year period 1974 - 80 was 96 kilograms)

This concept of self-sufficiency presumes the use of imported wheat to the tune of one third of the total rice consumed together with some maize, millets and yams locally produced to supplement the rice in the staple diet of the people.

Many people take it for granted that the entire harvested crop is available for consumption. This however is not the case. Seed paddy for the next crop has to be set aside. Then there is some waste in drying, bagging, transporting and storing the paddy till it is milled or hulled. After the milling/hulling there is further waste till the rice reaches the consumer in transport and storage at the wholesalers and retailers. The waste in the form of paddy and rice varies according to the precautions taken against wastage. Most countries work on the basis of wastage between five and ten percent. Allowing for wastage, animal feed and seed and providing two measures of rice per week per person, annual requirements of paddy for a population of 15 million inhabitants would be about 120 million bushels. This

Perspectives

by Nagamuttu

is not a static quantity. This has to be raised every year by about two percent to provide for the increase in the population.

It was only in 1980 that paddy production reached the hundred million bushel mark. It has kept up in 1981 with 107 millions. The 1982 forecast is not too rosy, as such the production may linger at this level. Thus

will be slightly different for developing countries—here the people at the first stage will consume more cereals so as to have enough food quantity-wise and later turn to replace some of the cereals with food of animal origin (which also means feeding the animals with some cereals). So even on this count there would be more demand for rice. The third point is the

using better seed, better water management, application of fertilizer and use of pesticide where necessary are bearing fruit. The average yields of this country are still low compared to some other countries and there is scope for increasing production in this direction.

Taking the pros and cons for greater paddy production one can state reasonably

population growth as they experience the restructuring of their economic and social institutions. We are now in the first stage of low to high growth and perhaps within a couple of decades we will enter the next stage of high to low growth. Thus say by 2000 A.D. we could reach some form of balance between the limited increase on production with the limited increase in population and this could be maintained unless the food situation in the world outside affects us

Self-sufficiency in Food

at present we have a gap of over 10 million bushels between production and self sufficiency. This gap has to be filled in the future while all the time supplying extra 2 million bushels annually for new mouths to be fed. This in short is the challenge.

The picture is not so simple as all that. For one thing it presumes that wheat would continue to be available in the world market at reasonable prices to supplement the rice. Should the situation change unfavourably then the demand for rice would be more, making the gap wider. Another point to be considered is affluence. In developed countries with affluence, people consume better quality food which generally happens to be less cereals and more food of animal origin. The case however

one mentioned earlier namely of the increasing population. Family planning campaigns and the realization of the people to restrict family size take time (a couple of decades) and in the meantime the mothers-to-be are already there and the population increase continues and the demand for food on this score will increase for quite sometime adding to the rice gap.

On the other side of the coin there are many favourable trends to close the gap. Paddy production can be increased by (a) extending the land cultivation and (b) intensive cultivation of existing lands. This country is fortunate to have some suitable lands left for extending the area under cultivation and from this source, production will continue to increase. Intensive methods

safely that production will continue to increase for some time—it will be at a rate higher than population increase. So that the gap between production and consumption can be made narrower. Perhaps this situation will continue for a decade or two. Thereafter there would be constraints on production. New lands would certainly not be available. Increasing yield rates once we have reached high rates, would be more and more difficult without very large inputs (unless there is another breakthrough in research like the one earlier which produced the new varieties of seed paddy). The hopeful sign then would be the arrest of the population increase. When we look into past experience in advanced countries there is reasonableness in this hope of population control. There seems to exist some natural tendency for populations to go through a cycle of low to high to low

(for instance in the reduction of our wheat supply). Thus, all in all, the rice situation locally should remain well under control for the future.

Looking closer home, the Northern Province can fend for itself in a normal year. While Eastern Province like N.C.P. has surplus paddy and N.W.P. has also some to spare. The other five provinces are deficit areas.

For making the country self-sufficient in rice, the entire nation should help. As such let us all strive for it. At the same time, let us make this self-sufficiency meaningful with equitable distribution of food. Then only Kissinger's remarks at the World Food Conference at Rome in 1974 that ".... no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition" would apply to every household in this country.

Archaeological Research in the North

(Continued from page 8)

In spite of the close proximity and similar environments between Jaffna and Tamil Nadu, it is rather intriguing to account for the absence of these tools here. Allchin's reference to "one site in the north, near Jaffna under four feet of Earth" where stone age tools have been found on inquiry showed us that he had confused Trincomalee with Jaffna. (Allchin F.R. and Allchin B 1968) There are reasons for the absence of stone age artefacts in the Jaffna Peninsula. Firstly, most of these tools were made of quartz. Unfortunately quartz is not found in this area. Since the choice of the raw material and its utilization was a determining factor in the movement of the people, it is possible to argue that this region did not favour the

penetration of the Stone Age population. However, a thorough field survey is a desideratum in view of the evidence found on the opposite coast of Tamil Nadu.

The Kantarodai excavated site lies on the northern side of the ruins of the Dagabas within the Palmyrah groves which had been excavated and conserved by the Department of Archaeology. Before this excavation it was believed that Kantarodai was mainly a Buddhist site and is a miniature of Anuradhapura. However, excavations on the citadel mound at Anuradhapura in 1969 and Kantarodai in 1970 showed that in both these places, there lies a Pre-Buddhist layer with a long history.

At Kantarodai, the ruins of the Dagabas are datable to late Anuradhapura period

say circa 5 - 7 centuries A.D. Now coming to the excavation proper, it revealed a continuous occupation of the site. In the absence of the full excavation report (which has not been published so far) a small article written by Vimala Begley in 1973 gives us some idea of this site. (Begley, V. 1973) She said "The ceramic sequence consisted of three phases, the last being the Andhra or Early historic period. The lower phases are not so distinctively definable at present because of the limited excavations and as yet incomplete ceramic studies. The middle phase has no sharp cultural break with the upper except that is primarily of pre-rouletted ware and therefore earlier than the first century B.C. Certain ceramic types, especially in the Black and Red ware parallel those of the iron age

of South India and possibilities are great that settlers in both areas were of common origin or at least in very close contact".

Finally she concluded by saying that "the origin of the settlement may date from circa 4th cent. B.C. judging from the total depth of the deposit as well as the estimated date of the Indian iron Ages. However a better range of dates should be forthcoming from radio carbon samples".

From what she has said, it is evident that the first settlers of the site which lies on Valukkiyaru basin belonged to a culture known as Megalithic culture. The credit of introducing iron, the making of Black and Red ware and finally irrigation goes to this culture. The excavations at Anuradhapura

also showed a similar cultural sequence. At Anuradhapura unlike Kantarodai, the Megalithic culture succeeds the late Stone Age culture after an interregnum. Recent borings in the mounds of Mantai have shown evidence for this culture here. Even at Tissamaharama, excavated in the last quarter of the last century, although Parker was unaware of this Megalithic culture there, the perusal of his report clearly shows that it has the same potentiality as that of Kantarodai, Anuradhapura, Mantai and Tissamaharama. Tantalizingly enough, all these places are the areas of activities during the early historic period as clearly mentioned by the Pali Chronicles. The archaeological evidence clearly indicates that these settlers were none other than the Megalithic people.

STONE AGE EVIDENCE

UNCOVERED AT MANTAI

An archaeological dig carried out jointly by an American-Sri Lankan team at Mantai recently has uncovered evidence of Stone Age settlements at the site, the **Saturday Review** learns.

The dig has so far also turned up local and foreign pottery, beads, glass, coins and semi-precious stones.

Sources associated with the project told the **Saturday**

Review that, during the present excavations, a trench abandoned in 1971 by a previous excavator before reaching the bottom, had been deepened: this had yielded fascinating information about early human settlements at this site. The excavators think they have most probably reached a Stone Age layer in this trench.

Three trenches were dug

along the slope of the mound site (the present structure of the Tirukethisvaram temple and the temple settlements occupy a part of this) in the hope of discovering the city wall, if there was one. The results are favourable, the **Saturday Review** understands, but can only be confirmed when these trenches are deepened in the next season.

Prof. John Carswell, Curator of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, is the leader of the American team, assisted by Dr. Martha Prickett from the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Mr. Shiran Deraniyagala, Asst. Commissioner (Excavations) represents the Sri Lanka Archaeological Commission.

The project has been funded by the Chicago University's Oriental Institute, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the British Museum, London.

'High' caste Tamils using the Police, GUES allege

The General Union of Eelam Students (GUES) has, in a press release, strongly condemned "the treacherous action of certain 'high' caste Tamil groups who are using the Police Force --- the very same Force which oppresses the Tamil people---to attack and subjugate 'depressed' caste Tamils."

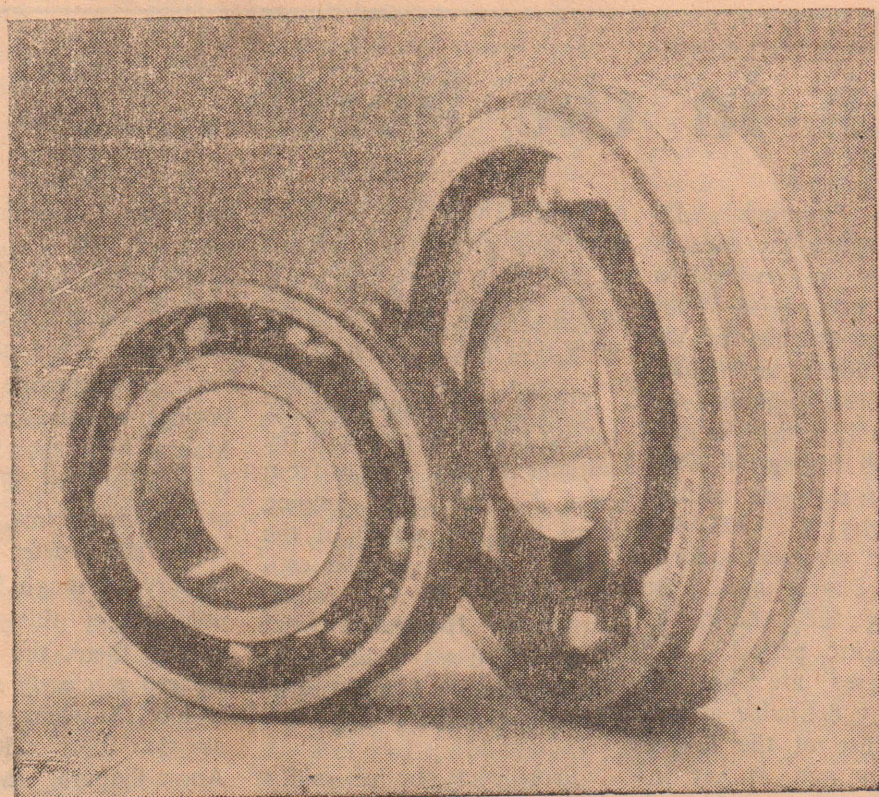
GUES specifically refers to the village of Sirupiddy where the oppressor castes have sought the help of the

Police to intensify their attacks on the labouring castes. Under this protective cover, GUES alleges, 'high' caste fanatics are daily threatening the lives of the 'depressed' castes, besides damaging or destroying their property.

GUES has called upon all Tamil Eelam liberation movements and progressive forces to unite to fight against this caste oppression and prevent a blood-bath among the Tamils.

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Paranthan Factory Strike

Restore status quo-C.M.U.

The Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) has accused the Paranthan Chemicals Corporation of trying to end the nearly 9 month old strike at the Paranthan Factory "without a settlement of the two basic issues that gave rise to it"---the re-employment of the 15 interdicted trade union leaders and other 'permanent' workers, and taking back the 'casual' workers who went on strike along with the 'permanent' workers on 27 November 1981.

The charge is made in a lengthy memorandum the CMU has addressed to the Labour Minister, Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne.

The CMU points out that at a conference summoned by the Commissioner of Labour on 8 July, Corporation representatives had stated the Corporation was not prepared to take back either the 'casual' workers who had come out on strike in solidarity with the 'permanent' workers or the 15 interdicted trade union leaders and other 'permanent' workers.

The fate of the 'casual' workers

At this Conference, Corporation representatives had also taken up the position that the matter would be referred to the Labour Minister for arbitration while 'casual' workers ('blacklegs') taken on during the strike would be kept on at the discretion of the Management, even if the rest of the 'permanent' workers resumed work.

The CMU's position is that "the trade union law of this country makes no distinction between 'permanent' and 'casual' workers in relation to the right to strike. It has been an invariable condition of strike settlements brought about through the Labour Dept. that all workers on strike should resume work without victimisation, while workers taken on during a strike ('blacklegs') have been discontinued on the settlement of a strike."

The CMU says categorically that the Corporation's stance "is completely unacceptable to our Union and to all the workers on strike. It would mean that the 15 interdicted trade union officials and other workers as well as all the 'casual' workers on strike would be kept out of employment indefinitely, pending the outcome of arbitration proceedings. In the meantime the 'permanent' workers on strike would have to return to work and work together with the 'blacklegs' taken on during the strike."

In these circumstances, says the CMU, it has no alternative but to continue the strike until there is "a restoration of the status quo prior to the strike and the lock-out (5 Nov. '81) of all the workers."

Parcel bomb hoax again !

A parcel bomb hoaxer has been at it again: an unaddressed parcel found lying inside Jaffna's New Market on Saturday morning (31st July) a little while after the gates were opened caused quite a flutter.

Police and Army jeeps rushed to the scene and the ground floor of the New Market, where the parcel was lying, was cordoned off while armed personnel took up positions.

Metal detectors went into action but it was no go; so an Officer-in-Charge of a Police Station near Jaffna plucked up enough courage to bust the parcel apart by trampling it, the **Saturday Review** learns.

The contents turned out to be---chaff, stones and a worn-out brush!

N.S.S.P. plea for a common Left candidate

from the government. Naturally we expect it to go much further."

We give below excerpts from the NSSP's pre-election statement:

If the Left is capable of arriving at an electoral agreement and launching a common presidential candidate it is entirely possible to mobilise both Sinhala and Tamil masses and also other minority groups around him, states the Nava Sama Samaja Party in a press statement.

The press statement jointly signed by General Secretary Dr. Wickramabahu Karunaratne and A. K. Annamalai,

Co-Sec. for Nationalities, goes on to say "such a course of action will attract both the SLFP and TULF masses around the left movement and the left candidate. For those in the SLFP and the TULF who are genuinely opposed to the UNP, there is no other alternative but to support the united effort of the left. Only such a mass movement will be capable of even wrenching a normal election

"Government's intention to have the presidential election before the stipulated time and the proposed amendments to the constitution, show very clearly that J. R. Jayawardene, is conscious of the restless mass mood. The economy is moving towards a catastrophe. World Bank and aid giving consortium has criticised sharply the performance of tourism and

the FTZ. Traditional foreign exchange earner the plantation sector is sick in every respect. Additional money necessary for the on-going projects with the present level of waste and super inflation, is hard to get in the coming period. There is no way out for J. R. and his colleagues except that of imposing the further severe burdens on the masses.

However in order to make the people accept more burdens it is necessary to defeat the Trade Union movement completely; smash the resistance of the peasantry and the youth; terrorize the Tamil people to accept domination. If J. R. can get a fresh mandate by some means then their calculation is that it will go a long way towards stabilising the government, thus giving them enough strength to meet these oppositional forces at all levels. The present electoral and constitutional manoeuvres are precisely towards this end. Every attempt is made to have a cold election with a very limited election campaign. Every thing that happens today confirms our view that the election will be rigged.

This in turn means that the opposition should unite actively in campaigning for

(Continued next page)



Could anyone help?

Radha, an estate worker pictured above, is a woman with a private grief. She lost sight of her two children by her first marriage over ten years ago. The two children are named Thevarajah believed to be 22 years old now and Jeyarani whose age would be 17. Radha believes that her children were brought to Jaffna for domestic employment, one of them by a broker named Perumal of Nellimalai near Kandy who is reported to have died during the 1977 anti-Tamil riots, and the other by an overseer by the name of Naguleswaran from Muthaiankaddu in the Kilinochchi area.

Radha is now married to a man named Subramaniam hailing from Elugama Estate Grechenglade Group between Matale and Kandy.

Any reader who can provide information about Thevarajah and Jeyarani are requested to contact the "Saturday Review" Office.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

The Action Committee of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress has decided to stand Kumar Ponnambalam as a candidate for the Presidential elections.

Englishwoman's gift to Jaffna School in memory of dead husband

An Englishwoman, the widow of a resident of Idai-kadu, the late Mr. A. K. Arumugasamy, has donated Rs. 15,000/- in her husband's memory to set up a scholarship fund for use in higher education for the students of Idai-kadu Maha Vidhyalayam, Atchuvely.

The Englishwoman Mrs. Elizabeth Arumugasamy who is an Education Department Official in London has sent this sum to the Old Students Association and has nomin-

ated the following to constitute the trust:

Miss. Kaveri Arumugasamy of Cambridge University, Mr. A. K. Balasubramaniam, Retired Postal Official, Point Pedro and brother of Mr. A. K. Arumugasamy, Mr. M. Saravannamuttu, Chief Accountant, Lands Ministry, Colombo, Mr. S. Srikanthan, Chemical Engineer, Fertilizer Corporation and Mr. P. Kuganesan, Engineer, London.

The late Mr. Arumugasamy died in 1977 and the Trust Fund was meant to mark his 50th date of birth last month. Mrs. Arumugasamy has told the School Committee that she will be sending further contributions to expand the scholarship fund.

Cancer Treatment Centre Fund nears Rs. 1½ million

Members of the family of the late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam Q.C., have donated Rs. 1.2 million so far towards the construction of the Cancer Treatment Centre at Base Hospital, Tellippalai, Jaffna.

Other donations have been received as follows:

Northern Province Cancer Society - Rs. 100,000
Jaffna Lions Club - 80,000
Jaffna Rotary Club. - 53,000
Individual contributions totalling - 40,260

Private and Public Sector Organizations - 11,016

The total collections now stand at Rs. 1,484,276.

The Board of Directors of Mascons Limited have made a free supply of asbestos sheets required for roofing.

Dr. Senathirajah and Dr. S. Sabaratnam, Honorary Joint Secretaries of the fund are making a public appeal for another Rs. 5 lakhs to complete this project. The Cobalt Unit is expected to arrive by the end of this month and the funds are required for urgent completion of the building. The fund is an approved charity, and contributions could be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, Dr. M. Suntheralingam, 38, Kandy Road, Jaffna. Cheques to be drawn in favour of THE COUNCIL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CANCER TREATMENT CENTRE.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

T.U.L.F. Parliamentarians behind move to bring Chandrahasan into T.U.L.F. fold

Will the Tamil United Liberation Front nominate Mr. S. C. Chandrahasan as MP for Vaddukoddai? The seat has fallen vacant following the death of the Vaddukoddai MP, Mr. T. Thirunavukarasu, on 1 August.

The *Saturday Review* learns that some prominent TULF parliamentarians have already started lobbying for Mr. Chandrahasan. They argue that such a move would go a long way in healing the splits that are weakening the Tamil liberation struggle.

However, sources close to Mr. Chandrahasan indicate that he might decline the

offer if it is made.

The names of several other prominent TULF-ers are also being mentioned in knowledgeable political circles. Foremost among them is the Jaffna District Development Council Chairman's (Mr. S. Nadarajah). Another person in the running is an Attorney-at-law, long associated with the TULF.

If too many seek nomination, the TULF leadership may try to seek a way out of the impasse by nominating Mrs. Thirunavukkarasu, the widow of the late MP for Vaddukoddai and an Attorney-at-law, the *Saturday Review* understands.

N.S.S.P.'s plea for a Common Left candidate

(Continued from page 11)

a democratic and fair election, and in particular for the withdrawal of the proposed amendments including the proposal to have the presidential election first. Such a campaign should incorporate picketing, political strikes, sathyagraha and other mass actions, where masses can intervene. Only the working class can take the leadership of such a struggle. S.L.F.P. leadership has failed singularly in this respect. Even where direct attacks were made against their very leadership they have not taken any meaningful steps to mobilize the enormous mass movement that is coming around them. Instead they have attempted to pacify the masses with empty rhetoric that they will somehow win in the forthcoming elections.

In this context the Nava Samasamaja Party appeals to

the working class parties and to the left movement of this country to unite their effort to give a forceful leadership to the mass movement. In particular the Samasamaja and Communist parties should go into a discussion to arrive at a common program and common tactic.

The name of Comrade Colvin R. de Silva has been mentioned as the presidential candidate. We say that he should come forward as the candidate of the left, based on a program to overthrow constitutional Bonapartism and to move towards socialism.

In case the left cannot agree on a common candidate we have no other alternative but to put forward comrade Vasudeva Nanayakkara, politbureau member of the NSSP, a man of sincerity, sacrifice and great stature as our presidential candidate, and campaign on the platform explained above."

Stadium site: University of Jaffna offers its land

The University of Jaffna is ready to offer 15 acres of land to the Jaffna District Development Council to put up a Stadium Complex.

The land---which lies west of the Medical Faculty at Thirunelvely---was earmarked for a playground but the University has virtually abandoned the idea as it has

no funds.

The University Council, at a recent meeting (where *ex officio* member and DDC Secretary Devanesan Nesiah was present), decided to make available this land to the Jaffna DDC for a Stadium Complex, particularly in view of the controversy over the Kakkativu site---the

Government's choice for an International Stadium.

Sports circles who welcome the University's offer say it will help to kill two birds with one stone. They point out that this will be a viable alternative to the Kakkativu site. Besides, if a full-fledged Stadium Complex comes up at Thirunelvely, it will be a booster for University sports.

'Full steam ahead' for K. K. S IIIrd Stage, but port work grinds to a halt

"Full steam ahead!" This was Industries Minister Cyril Mathew's order to the personnel in charge of the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory's 3rd Stage Project when he visited the work-site, unannounced, on 29 July, along with Cement Corporation Chairman Asoka Somaratne.

The Minister who spent nearly 5 hours going round the site and operating some of the machines, told those in charge "Complete the 3rd stage project as speedily as possible."

This has fuelled speculation that President J. R. Jayawardene's first official visit to the North is imminent.

There seems to be another reason for the Minister's mighty hurry to get the new project plant working: the export of cement can help to generate the funds needed to complete the KKS Harbour Project which appears to have got financially snarled-up.

Meanwhile some contract workers recruited for the 3rd stage project through Rural Development Societies have appealed to the Minister

to make them permanent.

Quite a number of these contract workers---even those with technical qualifications have already been laid off or are about to be discontinued: some of them are families men and their future seems hopeless. At the same time, new workers are being recruited for the Harbour Project and the New Project Plant.

Labour sources say this ironic situation has arisen because the authorities want to circumvent any possible claim by contract workers for permanency.

Parliamentarians at funeral of Vaddukoddai M.P.

A delegation of parliamentarians headed by the Speaker Al-Haj Bakeer Markar flew down to Jaffna from Colombo to pay their last respects at the funeral of the late M.P. for Vaddukoddai, Mr. T. Thirunavukkarasu. Also present were MPs from the Eastern and Northern Provinces. Messages of tribute from the Prime Minister, Ministers and MPs were delivered. Colonel Fernando of the Jaffna Camp placed a wreath sent by President Jayewardene.

Mr. Thirunavukkarasu died of a heart ailment at a private hospital on August 1st.

S. L. F. P. dangles B. C. pact... ..

(Continued from page 1)

A decision was taken to re-activate and strengthen SLFP branches in the North and to mobilise support for the SLFP (S) presidential candidate, whoever it was: a vote for this candidate was virtually a vote for Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike---the SLFP ex-premier who has been deprived of her civic rights---those present were told.

Mr. Ratnayake, with Attorney-at-law M. Shanmugalingam who had come along

with him from Colombo, spent the whole of Sunday (1 August) holding informal discussions with some pro-SLFP (S) left wingers in the North who had been invited for the previous day's meeting but hadn't turned up. Knowledgeable political circles are rather doubtful about the impact the SLFP (S) can make on the North---especially now that Mrs. Bandaranaike is politically a non-person. Besides, they point out, the Party's Northern branches may find it difficult to shake off their torpor after their long political hibernation and the internal splits.