

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No. 32 September 4, 1982 Rs. 2

Viewpoint

THE IMPOTENCE OF BEING AMIRTHALINGAM

There are two roads open to politicians—the high road and the low road. Many mediocrities in politics instinctively choose the latter. But men who have talent and ability and know they have it, develop a well-defined power impulse. After all, no man, unless he has a love of power can possibly shape the course of events in a country. TULF leader Mr. Amirthalingam is one who is cast in the mould of a leader with a well-developed power impulse. Even during the Satyagraha phase of the Federal Party under the benign leadership of the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, Mr. Amirthalingam was known to the Tamil masses as "Thalapathy" (the peace-time 'General').

When Tamil politics entered into a new militant phase, the hour threw the leader. If Mr. Chelvanayakam with his very sensitive face and his natural infirmities and sickness symbolised the passive, sorry state of the Tamil people, Mr. Amirthalingam with his "chest forward" stance and his aggressive and arrogant tones typified the new militant mood of an emerging Tamil nation. The present disillusionment with his leadership arose out of a simple reason. No leader in public life can afford to behave out of character, and that is precisely what Mr. Amirthalingam has been doing over the past one year or more. It was Emerson who said: "Men are conservatives when they are least vigorous, or when they are most luxurious. They are conservatives after dinner". If Mr. Amirthalingam has now earned the image of a DOVE in the Tamil ranks, (surrounded by a whole bevy of parrots) it cannot be because he is less 'vigorous' or more 'luxurious'. It was possibly the soporific effects of a good dinner that has made him a "conservative". And that dinner came in the form of the office of the Leader of the Opposition! It is characteristic of men like Mr. Amirthalingam that they cannot be cowed down by aggression or a frontal assault. But to high office and honeyed words they have no answer in their personal armoury.

The phase of the amity talks has also ended now. But at what cost to the Tamil nation? All what the TULF has got out of the wild goose chase after Development Councils is a Mace and Throne for the Jaffna Chairman Mr. Nadarajah. State-aided colonisation which was one of the main planks on which Tamil grievance was built has been intensified more than ever while the TULF held their amity talk. What is worse it has become a military-aided colonisation. According to the figures of the provisional census of 1981, the Sinhala and the Sri Lankan Tamil populations in the Trincomalee district, were 86,341 and 86,743 respectively. The difference was a mere 402! We are sure by now Trincomalee is well on the way to become a Sinhala-majority district. State-aided ethnic-based colonisation has been the root cause of all communal conflict, and that policy is being pursued more ruthlessly than ever before.

Unless the TULF leadership has the courage to do a right-about turn at this eleventh hour, they will be the first losers even from the selfish point of view of the pursuit of power. It is foolish to talk of the importance of being Amirthalingam, at this juncture. What is distressing the vast mass of the people in the North and East is the impotence of Mr. Amirthalingam as the Tamil leader right now.

Keep out from the polls, the Eelam Liberation Council tells the Tamils

A call to "all persons living in Tamil Eelam" not to participate at the forthcoming Presidential elections was made by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council at a meeting of the Council on 28th August in New York.

The Liberation Council with powers to co-opt other members, was set up at the World Tamil Eelam Convention held on July 3-4. There are five original members in the Liberation Council and their names were proposed by TULF leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam himself.

EELAM PLANNING

CON-MISSION

At its 28th meeting, the Council took three other major decisions. The resolution to set up an Interim Provisional Government of Tamil Eelam which was moved by Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan and seconded by Mr. Kovai Mahesan Editor of "Suthanthiran" at the New York Convention and which was referred to the Liberation Council, was accepted in principle. A sub-committee was appointed to lobby international opinion and work out the logistics and siting of the Interim Provisional Government.

The Council will organise a world convention in July 1983 to finalise a Social and Economic programme for the proposed state of Tamil Eelam. A 6-member Eelam Planning Commission will in the meantime get to work and submit its report at the July '83 convention.

The Council also decided to alert all Human Rights organisations in the world in a campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Sri Lanka in-

cluding Kuttimani and Jegan who are facing death sentences. It was decided to focus world attention in the process to the obnoxious provisions and operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Sources close to the Liberation Council told SATURDAY REVIEW that the Council had already briefed the TULF leadership on the decisions taken, and was awaiting with interest the party's reactions.

TULF to soft-pedal the Eelam issue

The high command of the Tamil United Liberation Front will explore the possibility of backing a common Opposition Presidential candidate—if one emerges—when they meet the leaders of various opposition parties for talks this week-end, the SATURDAY REVIEW reliably learns.

The General Council of the TULF which met in Trincomalee on 28 August decided the Front should not put forward a Presidential candidate but put

off a decision on whether or how the Front should participate in the Presidential election scheduled to be held on 20 October.

The SATURDAY REVIEW learns the put-off move was partly prompted by the talks being held over the week-end. The TULF leadership is reported to have had informal talks with Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—the likely Lanka Sama Samaja Party Presidential candidate—before the General Council meeting.

(Continued on page 12)

FOR JAFFNA RESIDENTS GIFTS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION



Eversilver Ware Fans, T.V. Sets, Radios Glass Ware, Irons, Blenders Electrical Goods, Plastic Goods, Clocks & Watches, Rice Cookers, Flowers, Kitchenware Etc.

CHOICE OF TASTE AND DISCRETION

BROWNSON TRADE CENTRE
CO-OP. COMPLEX
K.K.S. ROAD, JAFFNA.

Do politicians go by astrological advice?

Mr. V. Sinnathurai, the Secretary of the Astrological Research Association of Sri Lanka, Jaffna, sends this open letter to our Political Columnist Mr. Gamini Navaratne:-

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

Dear Sir,

I have great regard and respect for you and I do not fail to go through your comments in various newspapers at various times. Now you are a regular contributor to the "Saturday Review" and many of us discuss your comments with interest. However your critical analysis about Astrology and Astrologers is of great concern to me as I am the Secretary of the Astrological Research Association of Sri Lanka.

It is my humble opinion that the politicians in this country do not consult astrologers for inaugurating auspicious events or fixing election dates. Mrs. Sri-

mavo Bandaranaike used to inaugurate important events on her husband's birth date or on her birth date, imagining that their birth dates are the most important auspicious dates.

On the 8th January 1976 she inaugurated the Mahaveli Project. The papers carried the news that it was an auspicious time. Just after the opening, she was informed at the spot

ing better than clay in his head would have fixed 17th September 1982 for Nomination Day? It is a New Moon day. Even the non-believers of astrology will not start such an important event on a New Moon Day. From this it is crystal clear that the Government and politicians do not give priority to auspicious dates.

The 1977 election was held under Kala Sarpa Yoga and you know the results that ensued.

The election in March 1960 was held under Kala Sarpa Yoga. These two governments elected under Kala Sarpa Yoga had disastrous failures by cyclones, communal riots, downfalls, failures etc.

The 20th October 1982, the date fixed for the Presidential election falls under Kala Sarpa Yoga. According to Mundane Astrology, a government elected under a Kala Sarpa Yoga will not last the full period nor can they deliver the goods. For some reason or other this premature election is being held in the most inauspicious moment when adverse planets are traversing Scorpio the 10th sign from the ruling sign of Sri Lanka namely Kumba about which you would have fully studied in the article that appeared in the "Saturday Review" of the 31st of July '82. The Title of the article was "Immediate Astrological Future for Sri Lanka".

The author has clearly stated that it is unwise to have the election at this time. If the politicians are giving heed, as you say, to astrology and astrologers they would not have fixed the date of election on the 20th of October 1982 as Mars, Moon and Uranus are in a planetary war in Scorpio, in addition to Kala Sarpa Yoga.

Being a patriotic son of this beautiful island of Sri Lanka I am much worried about the events that will take place while planets will be traversing adversely in the 10th house from the ruling sign of Sri Lanka. This house is heavily afflicted by malefic planets. It is going to be an adverse time and many changes, troubles, tribulations, turmoil and chaos are in store for the pearl of the East in the years ahead.

An open letter to Mr. Gamini Navaratne

itself that her good friend, the Prime Minister of China had passed away. In this manner I can quote many such inauspicious activities of politicians.

Do you think that any astrologer who has noth-

BIRTH

Dilan—a son to Mahendra and Ranja on 9-8-82. Sydney, Australia.



RABBIT — ZEBRA — NOORANI
CHANDRICA BRANDS

ROOFING TILES,
BRICKS & CONCRETE BLOCKS ETC.

SOLE DISTRIBUTORS:

M. T. PONNAMPALAM

36, K. K. S. ROAD, JAFFNA.

Phone: 7493

Always Remember

K. G. Express Bus Service

Your daily luxury service operated always with two drivers. We assure our patrons care, comfort and courtesy.

You relax all the way in your Reclining Seats and arrive at your destination cheerful and fresh.

SPECIAL STOP - OVER arrangements made for your convenience at Negombo and Murugandy.

Use clean toilets and washing facilities at these rest rooms.

Separate toilets available for ladies.

BOOKING AT

JAFFNA — Wellington Theatre

COLOMBO — K. G. Industries, Colombo 10,
Sapphire Theatre, Colombo 6,
Rajeswary Hotel, Fort.

TERRAZZO CHIPS

Imported all Colours.

- ★ CARBORANDUM Polishing Stones
- ★ FLOOR CUTTING MACHINES
- ★ ALUMINIUM SHEETS (STRIPS)
- ★ 'SNOWCRETE' WHITE CEMENT Rs. 12/- per kilo.
- ★ 'PUDLO' WATER-PROOF CEMENT Rs. 30/- per kilo
- ★ PIGMENTS In all Colours
- ★ BIRD BRAND Drawer, Night Latches, Mortise Locks, Available Wholesale and Retail.
- ★ WE ALSO UNDERTAKE TERRAZZO FLOORING

RAMSONS

HARDWARE ENTERPRISES LIMITED
443, OLD MOOR STREET
COLOMBO 12.
PHONE: 31511—34411.

LEELA

Jewellery Palace

Visit our
air-conditioned
showroom

No. 117—119
Sea Street
Colombo 11

Tel: 35639

No. 118,
4th Cross Street,
JAFFNA.

Chairman of
Board of Directors
K. C. THANGARAJAH

Editor
S. SIVANAYAGAM

Subscription Rates
inclusive of local
postage and foreign
Air Mail rate

Sri Lanka
Annual Rs. 120/-
Half-year Rs. 60/-
India
Annual Rs. 200/-
(Indian rupees)

All other Countries
Annual U. S. \$ 50
or £ 25
or
Rs. 1000/- in Sri Lanka
currency

Cheques payable to
Kalai Nilayam Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 10/-
per col. centimetre
Casual — Rs. 15/-
per col. centimetre

Subscribers are
requested to inform
Circulation Manager
in the event of the
non-receipt of their
copies.

Petitions of Appeal have been filed on behalf of Selvarajah Yogachandran (Kuttimani) of Valvettithurai and Ganeshanathan Jeganathan (Jegan) of Uduppiddy Road, Thondamanaru against the conviction and death sentence passed on them by the High Court of Colombo.

The Petition of Appeal of the second accused—appellant, Jegan, filed by his Attorney-at-Law Mr. C. V. Vivekananthan states, inter alia:-

"The 2nd Accused-appellant and two others (the 1st and 3rd accused above-named) were indicted before the High Court holden in Colombo with having, on or about the 21st of March, 1979, at Valvettithurai within the Judicial Zone of Jaffna committed the murder of one K. Sivaneshan and the 2nd accused appellant and the said 1st accused were convicted and sentenced to death on the 13th of August, 1982.

JUDICIAL ZONE

OF JAFFNA

"Though the said offence was alleged to have been committed at Valvettithurai within the Judicial Zone of Jaffna the Attorney-General signed the indictment on 4-8-80 and forwarded the indictment in this case to the High Court held in the Judicial Zone of Colombo on or about the 5th November 1980. An amended indictment was thereafter signed on 14-10-81 and was forwarded to the same Court on the same day and the accused were tried on such indictment, under the Prevention of Terrorism Act 48 of 1979 before a single Judge without Jury. The original indictment did not cite the second accused-appellant as an accused.

ELEPHANT PASS

ARMY CAMP

"The 2nd accused-appellant was taken into custody at Jaffna on 27th April, 1981 and held in Army custody incommunicado and under inhuman conditions at the Elephant Pass Army Camp from 27-4-81 to 6-6-81 and thereafter at Panagoda Army Cantonment under detention orders purported to have been made by the Minister of Inland Security till he was produced before the High Court holden at Colombo for the first time on 23-11-81. On the said day the learned High Court Judge failed to make order to remand the 2nd accused appellant to judicial custody

Kuttimani & Jegan appeal against their death sentence



Oozing confidence, Kuttimani gesticulates with his manacled hands when being led away after conviction. With him is Jegan.

The statements from the Dock

Kuttimani

I am not guilty of any offence. I am an innocent person. I was taken into custody by the police and army and was compelled under torture to sign statements which were produced in this case as evidence in which I am convicted. With regard to the Order made by this Court I have to state certain basic ideas of mine. The verdict of this Court given in this case today will provide a new impetus, fertile manure and an encouragement and compelling reasons for the establishment of TAMIL EELAM. This is not the only case. There will be other Tamil youths who will be brought before this court, on false charges. When this is continued the punishment imposed will give an encouragement to the Liberation of the Tamils.

I request that I should be hanged in Tamil EELAM. I request that

my vital organs be given to those in need of them. I request that my eyes be donated to some blind person, so that Kuttimani will be able to see through those eyes the reality of the Tamil Eelam. I request that my body be given to the Medical Faculty of the University of Jaffna.

Kuttimani will be sentenced to death today, but tomorrow there will appear thousands of Kuttimanies. They will not be innocent like me, but they will be more vigorous. I have only one sorrow that I have only one life to give to my people. May Tamil EELAM blossom. Long live TAMIL EELAM. High Court Judge (3) 13-8-1982.

Jegan

I am innocent. The Army and the CID

Police tortured me and obtained my signatures on some documents and produced the documents in this court falsely as my statement. I have been convicted on this false evidence. I can be hanged. But no one can prevent the blossoming of Tamil Eelam. Freedom is my birthright. This right has been denied to me. Although I have not obtained this right, I am sure that the Tamil youths to follow shall have this right to freedom. I'm not asking any mercy from any one. This has been imposed on me without any reason or justice. I request that I should be hanged in Tamil Eelam and my body be given to the Medical Faculty of the University of Jaffna. My eyes should be donated to some blind person. May Tamil EELAM blossom. Long live Tamil Eelam. High Court Judge (3) 13-8-1982.

and the 2nd accused-appellant continued to be held in Army custody until 31-3-82. The 2nd accused appellant was not produced before any Court till 23-11-81.

On the 31st of March 1982 the 2nd accused-appellant was remanded to fiscal custody but was taken by Army personnel to the Welikada Prison and purporting to act under an order purported to have been made by the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, under Section 15A (1) of the Prevention of Terrorism Act 48 of 1979 taken back the same day to the Panagoda Army Camp and held in Army custody right through the trial. The copy of the said order served on the 2nd accused-appellant subsequently did not contain any conditions.

OBJECTIONS TO

JURISDICTION

"Though the Court was exercising jurisdiction over an offence alleged to have been committed in the Northern Province and the accused persons could not read and understand the Sinhala language until the 31st of March 1982, when by an order of the Supreme Court the learned Judge was required to maintain the record in the Tamil language.

"On 31st March 1982 the Counsel for the 2nd accused-appellant raised objections to the jurisdiction of the Court to hear the said case, but the learned Judge over-ruled the said objections and called upon the accused to plead. The 2nd accused too objected to the jurisdiction of the Court and pleaded not guilty to the charge. The grounds of objections and submissions of counsel on the said objections are not

(Continued next leaf)

Jegan's appeal

(Continued from page 3)

contained in the Tamil or Sinhala record of the proceedings as the learned Judge did not direct the stenographer to record the same.

"During the course of the trial the prosecution moved to lead evidence of statements alleged to have been made by the 1st and 2nd accused to Police officers while under detention and the defence objected to the same and the inquiry commenced into the admissibility of such statements. The learned Trial Judge after hearing evidence and submissions made order dated 10th August 1982 admitting such statements.

"The trial in the case was concluded on 12th August 1982 and the learned Judge gave his Judgment and verdict on 13th August, 1982 convicting the 1st and 2nd accused and sentenced them to death on the same day.

"Being dissatisfied by the said orders, judgements, verdict and sentence the 2nd accused-appellant appeals against them on the following among other grounds that may be urged by Counsel on his behalf at the hearing of this appeal.

(a) "that the said orders, judgment, verdict and sentence are contrary to law and against the weight of evidence adduced in this case;

(b) "The Court had no jurisdiction to try the

2nd accused-appellant and to pass verdict and sentence;

(c) "The trial of the 2nd accused-appellant is irregular and illegal as the provisions of the law was illegally applied to the said trial;

(d) "The Prevention of Terrorism Act 48 of 1979 as Amended is unconstitutional and bad law and ought to be struck down; Notwithstanding Article 80 (3) of the Constitution;

(e) "Even if the Court had jurisdiction to try the 2nd accused-appellant the said 2nd accused-appellant was not given a fair trial.....

(f) "The alleged confessions of the 1st accused-appellant alleged to have been made on 5th and 6th April 1981 and p7 alleged to have been made on 11th, 12th and 18th April 1981, and the alleged statements of the 2nd accused-appellant alleged to have been made on the 13th, 14th and 15th May 1981 were admitted as evidence against law and weight of evidence....

(g) "The learned High Court Judge misdirected himself in accepting the evidence of P.C. Marasinghe and Inspector Senadharma and other prosecution witnesses in spite of their infirmities and patent falsity.

The accused-appellant states that he was falsely implicated in this offence and should be acquitted..

M.P.'s 'solution' no solution, he says

A statement issued by Mr. Manikkam the President of the "Janasakthi" Community Centre in Sirupiddy West, says that the recent publicity stating that Mr. Alalasundaram M.P. for Kopay, had solved the caste conflict in Sirupiddy is not correct. Mr. Alalasundaram's solution was that the "upper castes" who own the agricultural lands should decide whether or not to employ the "lower castes" for cultivation and the lower castes may work for the landlords if working conditions are agreeable to them, if not they should keep away.

But this "solution" has only aggravated the financial situation of the lower castes as the landlords had

been able to get workers from a neighbouring village Vempirai, and have not shown interest in employing them. The workers of Sirupiddy West are virtually jobless as they own no arable land and have been forced to make a living by breaking stones which does not earn them sufficient money. In the coming months which is the rainy season in Jaffna even this avenue of employment cannot be pursued.

Mr. Manikkam who says that the demands of the workers, that their working hours should be reduced to six, and better food should be provided in a decent way by their employers, have also not been given a fair hearing.

After heated arguments between members, it was decided by the General Council of T.U.L.F., in their meeting on the 27th of August at Trincomalee, that the Party would not participate in the forthcoming Presidential Elections. But the question regarding which candidate the T.U.L.F. should support will be decided by the General Council in a meeting to be held on September 26th in Jaffna.

The General Council meeting was held in the house of the M.P. for Trincomalee Mr. Sampanthan and presided by Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, the President of T.U.L.F. About 74 members including Mr. Chandrasaran participated, but Mr. Kasi-Ananthan and Mr. Sellathamby were not present. Though many members argued that it would be best for T.U.L.F. to boycott the Presidential Elections, some did express the view that T.U.L.F. should participate in the elections.

When Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, the Chavakachcheri M.P., proposed that a politburo should be formed to help in the decision making of the T.U.L.F., the General Council decided that the party branches should be consulted first and the General Council should meet in Vavuniya on October 11th to give the final verdict.

After the General Council sessions, in the evening a public meeting was held in the Trincomalee Esplanade in which Mr. Amirthalingam said "Tamil Eelam" has to win its freedom. But as a first step they the leaders have to win the confidence of the Tamils. The leaders cannot always be called upon to give explanations to

CYRIL MATHEW GIVES ASSURANCE

Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs Mr. Cyril Mathew gave assurance to employees of the Paranthan Chemical Factory, who are on strike for the last nine months, that they may return to work anytime and that they will not be victimised.

OPENING OF CO-OP HEAD OFFICE

The new head office of the Multipurpose Co-operative society of Jaffna, which is now situated in the first floor of the M.P. C.S. Building, at 127 KKS Road, Jaffna, was opened by Mr. A. Amirthalingam on the 1st of September, at 4 p.m.

T.U.L.F. to decide on Sept. 26

the people on every decision they take. This is a stage when politics has to be conducted in an intelligent way. But efforts are being made to poison the minds of our youth and divide the T.U.L.F.

Meanwhile it is reported that pressure is mounting from the radical groups within the T.U.L.F. to call for a more positive boycott and call for the total abstinence of the Tamil voter in the Presidential Elections. But Kumar

Ponnambalam has announced that he would ask Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Thondaman to nominate him for the Presidential Candidate, and that he would contest as an independent candidate if T.U.L.F. has any qualms about voting for a Tamil Congress candidate. With such issues hanging, the General Council meeting of the T.U.L.F. in Jaffna on the 26th of September is loaded with significance

Signature Campaign for release of Kuttimani & Jegan

The Revolutionary Marxist Party of Sri Lanka has begun collecting signatures in an island-wide, mass signature campaign calling for the release of Kuttimani and Jegan and all other political prisoners.

The Desha Vimukthi Organisation has strongly condemned the death sentences passed on Kuttimani and Jegan.

A Press Release, issued by its Secretary Nihal Perera, states "It is our view that Kuttimani and Jegan should be treated as political prisoners. We call upon all democratic forces including the

TULF to strongly campaign for the total removal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act from the Statute book."

The Executive Committee of the Ceylon Teachers Union has unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government to quash the 'death sentence passed on Tamil youths Kuttimani and Jeganathan.'

A Press Release issued by CTU's General Secretary H. N. Fernando states that it was also resolved that "all political prisoners including Jeganathan and Kuttimani who are detained should be released immediately."

ATTEMPT TO SMUGGLE SATIN WOOD FOILED

A police party belonging to the Vavuniya police station broke up an attempt to illegally transport 5 lakhs worth of Satin wood from Vavuniya to Jaffna. The wood sawed into planks was ready to be transported when the police receiving the tip-off made the raid.

CEMENT FACTORY AT TRINCO

A cement factory is to be started at Trincomalee jointly by a private firm in Sri Lanka and a Japanese firm. Construction work is expected to finish within one year starting next month.

The annual cement output of this factory will be 2 lakhs metric tons.



Foreign View

2,000 troops in Jaffna, and about '20 hard-core Tigers'

In the grounds of the Government Agent's residence in Jaffna, hundreds of flying foxes hang by their claws from the sombre mahogany trees.

In the dark stables and derelict out-buildings of this early 19th century colonial palazzo, youths thought to be "Tigers", separatists fighting for an independent "Tamil Eelam" were detained and tortured during the 1981 troubles.

Police were killed and in reprisal committed arson and plunder in Jaffna. Rusting, burnt-out cars stand in the scrub of what was once the garden.

'BRUTALITY OF ITS INTERROGATORS'

Jaffna is a northern Tamil city, under southern Sinhalese occupation. There are at least 2,000 troops, in the district trying to contain the Tigers. The Tigers are to be found in the city centre and nearby villages, clean-cut and with clipped moustaches. A new paramilitary force to assist the embattled police is in training at "Elephant Pass," a camp set in isolated salt-flats and now notorious for the brutality of its interrogators.

The Government Agent, Mr. Devanesan Nesiah, says that the brigadier and the deputy inspector-general of police are de facto rulers of the area. The brigadier, Cyril Ranatunge trained at Sandhurst is upset. "We are taking a hammering. I am a father. The children of Jaffna are my children. It hurts us when we have to surround an area. We are doing it from the heart," he said. You can see the army patrols most evenings roaring through the city, armed to the teeth, often leaving broken heads, smashed shops and tension.

The assailants seem to be as scared as their victims. The army is certainly not winning. There may only be about 400 Tigers, if that, in the

peninsula—"about 20 hard core", says the brigadier, and "hundreds" of peripherals—but they are protected by the community, and their numbers appear to be growing. Moreover, India, 22 miles across the channel from Jaffna and with 50 million Tamils, is a refuge and an arms source for the Tigers. It is also unhelpful about extradition.

ly indentured labour brought from India, as distinct from the nearly two million indigenous Ceylon Tamils—have subjected around 400,000 of them to repatriation, or deportation, to India, and left another half-million stateless.

You can see some of the 50,000 migrants from the tea and rubber estates, in

tion Front, the main, but small, opposition party in the Colombo Parliament, nailed its colours to the mast with a demand for national self-determination for the Tamils, the course of parliamentary politics has also turned.

Moreover, President Jayawardene, who refers disparagingly to the "Eelam cry," does not believe that

ostensibly bent on "liberation" thought they had been negotiating for special provisions for real Tamil control in Tamil areas.

'THE MOST

LIKELY

FUTURE LEADER'

The most likely future leader of the TULF, Mr. S. C. Chandrasekaran, claims that "no concessions short of liberation will now satisfy the Tamils." A sense of separate national identity is now deep-rooted among Tamils of all classes and political persuasions; they are Tamils before they are Sri Lankans.

But the Sinhalese, with the Buddhist clergy at their elbows, have got the political bit between their teeth. Asserting majority rights after years of what they see as subordination to disproportionate Tamil

by

David Selbourne

The Guardian, London August 12, 1982

The Tigers tell you that their membership is increasing daily, that detentions and police brutality are making them strong, that they think deeply about the question of violence, and that the "armed agents of the state" are selected for killing after careful study and full inquiry. They also say that the police and army are inefficient. The prospect for both sides is dire.

"Conditions are trying," said the D.I.G. of Police, W. B. Rajaguru, "and the temptations to go berserk are great." The mood is bitter after a series of bloody ambushes. Increasing the proportion of Tamil officers—to 40 per cent—has made no difference. Four more were shot dead recently at Nelliady, and for the first time the Tigers, who are hard to pin down and getting more skilful, claimed responsibility for the killings.

The Tiger movement's existence has taken more than 30 years to evolve. Increased administrative discrimination by the majority Sinhalese against the minority Tamils has taken place in language, education, and employment; and there has been the Sinhalese colonisation of Tamil areas, recurrent attacks, some on the scale of pogroms, and the defeat of earlier, more moderate political expectations of a federal solution.

In addition, racial pressures on the 1.2 million plantation Tamils—former-

shacks and huddles by the roadside in Vavuniya, in north-central Sri Lanka; or clearing the jungle and scratching a living in more than 40 new squatter villages in the same district. They, too, have been subjected to police attack and crop destruction, in an attempt to deter the migration and to flush out terrorists, as the movement spreads beyond Jaffna.

the TULF really wants separate statehood—if they do, they certainly cannot have it.

The President, hemmed in by Sinhalese intransigents who will not give an inch to the Tamils had called the TULF's bluff, and split their ranks with an offer of nothing more than glorified country council powers. "I can do no more

"The President, hemmed in by Sinhalese intransigents who will not give an inch to the Tamils, had called the TULF's bluff, and split their ranks...."

This combined squeeze on the minority has turned the north of the island—part of the traditional home land of the Ceylon Tamils into a Sinhalese garrison and a Tamil laager.

This is their world, which they want to call Tamil Eelam. Since 1976, when the Tamil United Libera-

than that," he said, "They cannot separate, and what we give them cannot be different from any other part of Sri Lanka." After months of talks, the TULF has in effect got nothing.

It is obvious that the Sinhalese are in no mood to concede what the TULF

privilege in jobs and education, they are pushing them back into minority status with a firm grip on State power. They are unlikely to share it with the Tamils, let alone permit their secession.

(Continued from
last issue)

It is necessary to examine the uses of a language to promote some necessary clarity of thought in regard to language. The uses which a language serves may be listed as follows:

1. To be the medium of oral communication, i.e. at the conversational or speaking plane. This is the most elementary use.
2. To be the medium of written records, e.g. deeds, promissory notes, last wills, books of account, communications with the Government and others where a contract is involved.
3. To be the medium of instruction and learning.
4. To be the medium of administration of the polity, i.e., the organized state.
5. To be the medium for giving expression to the deepest urges, impulses and aspirations of the heart, i.e., literature and among simple folk "the Oppari" at funerals.
6. To be the medium for communion with the Supreme Force about which none of us know anything but about which most of us have some broad and hazy but deeply imbedded image.

'RULE US, BUT IN TAMIL!'

It is necessary to look a bit deep into the use of a language in the field of administration. Administration in this context will embrace the whole gamut of **decision-making** at all levels, **implementing such decisions** and **communicating with the people** on myriads of matters. What is decision making? It is best explained by giving two examples. When the President and his Cabinet decide to amend the Constitution, it is a case of **decision-making**; equally when an O - I - C of a remote Police station decides to prosecute or not to prosecute a person against whom a complaint has been lodged, it is also a case of **decision-making**. Both are **decision-making** in the process of carrying on the Government. But the **decision-making** at the top echelons involve policy decisions and are definitely in response to public opinion. The enactment of the Sinhala Only Act is a case of policy decision dictated by public opinion—of course exclusively Sinhala public opinion.

Similarly the take-over of schools was in response to public opinion—of course Sinhala or perhaps Sinhala-Buddhist public opinion. Standardization is again in response to public opinion—of course exclusively Sinhala public opinion. Many decisions which do not involve legislation are also in response to public opinion. Many decisions made by departmental officials at various hierarchic levels are broadly in conformity with public opinion.

It will thus be seen that administration can be visualized to consist of three elements: **decision-making**; **implementing the decisions**; and **communicating with the public** in regard to such decisions. We have already noticed that **decision-making**, whether at top-level or at lower levels of departmental administration and the preceding deliberations in the forms of Minutes, Reports etc. cannot be in the Tamil Language when Sinhala is the official language. Implementation involves inter-departmental communication. As everybody knows, inter-departmental communication has to be in Sinhala. The Regulations made under the Reasonable Use of Tamil Language Act—and which cost Dudley Senanayake his political life—relates only to that function of administration described as **communicating with the public**. It is only in relation to this marginal function of communications with the public that Tamil Language got some status and that only on paper as the frequent questions raised in Parliament by Mr. K. P. Ratnam M.P. about infringement of this right to use the Tamil language bears ample testimony. We can now assess what the Tamils got in their great fight for placing Tamil Annai on the throne on a footing of equality with Sinhala. These rights were **agreed to** and **acquiesced upon** by the Tamil politicians. It thus amounts to this: "We agree to you, Sinhalese, ruling us, but we want to be ruled in the Tamil

language." There is absolutely no status for the Tamil language in the decision-making process; not even an iota of self-government via the Tamil language. It shows the inanity of seeking language rights while abandoning the fundamental, inalienable and irresistible right for self-government. This is how obsession with language rights leads to the extinction of the Tamil nation.

cluding the Muslims, took it in good spirit. He handled the delicate question of relationship between Hindus, Christians and Muslims of the Tamil linguistic group with much tact. When the question of a Muslim University cropped up he gave full support to that demand.

It is necessary that those whose creed is a self-governing Tamil language state make their position with regard to the Muslims

Another miserable consequence of the obsession with language is the coinage and introduction into politics of the term "**Tamil speaking people**", a very loose and damaging concept. Chelvanayakam coined this term for obvious reasons: to increase the numerical strength of the federal demand and the group making this demand. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan never thought of using such a term; he treated all Muslims as Tamils by nationality and Muslim by religion. Although he was heavily criticised for this stand by Muslims, he did not revise his views. G. G. Ponnambalam was in politics at a time when Muslims had begun to assert that Muslims constituted a distinct national entity. Nevertheless Ponnambalam did not think of diluting the national base to a loose concept such as **Tamil speaking people**. At a meeting of the Tamil Congress held in the forties in Colombo, there were a number of prominent Sinhalese and Burghers. present on invitation Ponnambalam referred one by one to these distinguished non-Tamils in the gathering and thanked them for their presence and moral support. Finally he turned round to Sir Mohammed Mackan Marikar and with a smile said something to this effect "You may perhaps think that I have forgotten Sir Mohammed "and changing the tone in his inimitable style quipped" He is a Tamil; he is one of us". The whole audience, in-

quite clear and unambiguous. The present writer would venture this stance towards the Muslims.

"We welcome you into the said polity which will be strictly secular and confer absolute equality of status and opportunity to every citizen irrespective of his caste, creed, beliefs, faith, religion or calling in life. If you think that your future lies along other directions, you are at perfect liberty to pursue what you think is best for you. We harbour no ill-will or displeasure at your seeking your own interests in ways which you think is best for you but we expect you to **respect our inalienable right for self-government in the same manner as we respect your right to pursue your interests in the directions and ways which you think serves your interests best.**"

'TAMIL-SPEAKING PEOPLE'

The dilution of the concept of national entity based and built around the Tamil language to one of **Tamil speaking people** is a most damaging and false step. The term "**Tamil speaking people**" was brought into politics under the guidance and leadership of a leading lawyer. Hence it would be advisable to talk in terms and the analogy of practices in the courts. If in a civil case a party raises several issues but presses only with one or two the Court will mention the fact that Counsel pressed only these

Let us
bring into
usage
the term
'Tamil
linguistic
group'

issues and will deal rather cursorily with the issues the Counsel did not pursue. If several grounds were mentioned but emphasis was laid only on a few, the judge will deal rather briefly with the other grounds observing that Counsel did not pursue the others. If the party were to ask for many reliefs but settles for one or two, he will be stopped from raising the others again. These are every day experiences of lawyers. As we have seen above the use of a language for oral communication, i.e., at the speaking plane, is the marginal use, the use at the stage when the language gets extinct. The other uses are significant to a growing, flourishing nation with a future. When we name ourselves as Tamil speaking people, we unconsciously acquiesce in only one use, that of oral communication, and accede to the extinction of the other uses. In short we view ourselves as a nation on the verge of extinction and disappearance. We must emphasise all the uses of the Tamil language; we must eschew the use of the loose phraseology Tamil - speaking people. The writer is well aware that the use of the term Tamils will be misunderstood by the Muslims. Hence the writer would suggest that we bring into usage the Tamil word "**Tamil Moli Inam**" and in English the term "**Tamil linguistic group**". It is the Tamil term that will count. Let us be "**Tamil Moli Inam**".

by **Somasundaram Vanniasingham**

August, though it ushers in the summer vacation, is actually a bitter month for the Japanese. It was on the 6th of August, 1945 that Hiroshima was atom-bombed, with about 150,000 losing their lives. On the 9th of August Nagasaki was bombed resulting in the death of another 80,000. On the 15th the proud Japanese were forced to surrender to the United States.

Insult was added to injury when U.S. wartime documents were discovered which clearly showed that the atom bombs were actually dropped to carry out an experiment on live human beings. Japanese were guinea-pigs on whom this newly discovered bomb was tested. But the cost was very heavy. Even today the Japanese fear that nuclear radiation will have genetic effects on offspring. About 400,000 "Hibakusha" or nuclear victims are believed to be in Japan, most of whom are suffering from the delayed after-effects, including atomic "bura-bura" diseases, a physical condition of deep lassitude and enervation.

HIROSHIMA

PEACE CEREMONY

But the feelings of the Japanese towards the August events are now crystallised into the beautiful Hiroshima Peace Ceremony that annually takes place on the 6th of August. Hiroshima has since come to symbolise man's perennial thirst for peace. This year too about 40,000 Japanese gathered in Hiroshima City, one of the biggest meetings in the whole of Japan, to remember the dead, to pray for peace, and utter to the outer world their message of "No more Hiroshimas". I and a few other foreigners being delegates from peace movements and Christian Social Action Groups, joined the Japanese in this ceremony.

Minutes before 8.15 a.m. at which time the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, there was a dedication of flowers in which members of bereaved families and members of the Government placed beautiful flowers at the foot of the memorial cenotaph. At 8.15 the Peace Bells started ringing and the congregation rose from their seats and joined in silent prayer for the dead and the living. Many Japanese didn't bother to hide their tears. Then the Mayor of Hiroshima, Takeshi Araki, read out the PEACE DECLARATION:

Remembering the Atom bombs over Hiroshima & Nagasaki



37 YEARS OF SUFFERING AND STRUGGLE MR. SENJI YAMAGUCHI (Survivor of Nagasaki ● aged 51)

On the 9th of August Senji Yamaguchi (then aged 14) was in the Mitsubishi Arms Manufacturing Works (1.2 kilometers from the epicenter) in the labor corps in Nagasaki. While he was working outside the building, the flash of the atomic bomb struck him, and he suffered severe burns in the right side of the upper part of his body. Burnt and festering, his body swarmed with maggots devouring the yellow pus that gave off a most offensive smell. The condition lasted for weeks.

What awaited him on leaving hospital after seven months was the torture of living. At the sight of him neighboring children scurried away, shouting, "Here comes the Red Demon!"

Plagued by one disease after another and discouraged at the unfavourable result of operations for keloids, Mr. Yamaguchi often tried to commit suicide, but the great upsurge of public demand for an end to A and H bombs encouraged him to live.

Working now as one of the representatives of Hidakyo, Mr. Yamaguchi devotes all his energy to appealing to the world for a ban on nuclear weapons.

"One torch ignites another in unending succession, and still the first torch keeps burning. Thus the 'Spirit of Hiroshima', dedicated to peace, should be shared by all people and handed down to posterity....The devastation of Hiroshima on that day was an omen of the advent of dark clouds threatening

the prospects for the survival of the human race. Having experienced the reality of that threat, Hiroshima has appealed to the world unceasingly for the total abolition of nuclear weapons and for the general and complete disarmament." Hundreds of white doves were released into the clear blue sky to

symbolise the Mayor's words.

But a handful of progressive Japanese who shared their views with me after the programme, felt that the whole ceremony was nothing more than a sentimental ritual for the Past, as the pompous messages delivered by the political personalities including Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki glossed over the fact that Japan, from being a nuclear victim, was fast becoming an economically and militarily oppressive power.

caste stigma is attached on them and they are forced to do degrading jobs for the business-minded Japanese Society.

On the other hand the issue of Japan's dumping of nuclear waste into Pacific waters has roused serious criticism among the Pacific Island people. The bitter question: "Are the Japanese going to change from nuclear victims to nuclear assailants?" has shocked the Japanese people. Their benign neglect for those "remote" islands' interests had pre-

A first - hand report

by Staff writer SURESH

Part and parcel of the much glorified "economic development" of Japan is the fact that the multinational companies which have invested in many developing Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, are exploiting the workers in these countries. In order to maximise the profits these Japanese companies get the utmost from these labourers, but fail to reward them adequately, thus pushing them below subsistence level. In Sri Lanka too there are five Free Trade Zones, and the Japanese factories in the stories our young female labourers there would tell, will turn the solemn Peace Declaration of Hiroshima into comedy.

The economic expansion of Japan has victimised many Japanese too. Kamagasaki which teems with workers who sleep on the roads, cannot afford a family, and are stricken with T.B. shows the exploited heroes who have contributed to the industrial development of Japan. The farmers in Sanrisuka are another oppressed group who are struggling against their government which wants to expand the Tokyo airport at the cost of the farms nearby. The "Burakhu" community in Osaka tell the tale of how

vented them from seeing the serious consequences such dumping brings to human life.

But the most important issue today is the fact that the Japanese military which was dissolved at the defeat in the World War is slowly being built into a threatening unit. Many efforts are being made today to romanticise the Army. Cinema and T.V. are full of shows which portray the Army personnel as selfless heroes faithful to their motherland. The prejudiced Japanese public are brain-washed to accept the need of a Military force.

The "text-book" issue which is currently earning the bitter protest of Korea and China is another symptom of this growing trend. The Education Ministry of Japan has altered historical facts related to Japan's early invasions on Korea and China, and has played down the aggressive and brutal role of the Japanese army. This is to present a more acceptable image of the Army to the Japanese public.

The third important symptom is the recurrent visits of leading govern-

(Continued on page 10)

Lester Brown a leading authority on world food problems has coined 'Fourth World' in his efforts to generalise the food problems of some of the Third World countries which desperately need help in contrast to other Third World countries which are affluent. Since World War 2 the less developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been referred to as the Third World. Today some of these countries have made considerable progress economically and socially and perhaps a division of the Third World is necessary at least for purposes of study.

In East Asia China, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore have made progress in addition to Japan. Likewise Brazil and Mexico have made progress but their problem is the grossly uneven distribution of income and wealth. Some of the populace oil producing countries which are making progress can be added like Iran, Algeria, Nigeria, Venezuela, and Indonesia. The oil producing countries of the Middle East can be added to this list as they have the means to purchase all their needs (inclusive of food).

40 COUNTRIES :

1 BILLION PEOPLE

This leaves about forty countries with over one billion people (which is about a quarter of the world population) with low per capita income (less than US 250 p. a.). This population is concentrated in the Indian sub-continent in sub-Sahara Africa and in pockets within Latin America. These countries have not only very low incomes but are also resource poor. At a time of rising energy and food prices, they do not have the foreign exchange required to cover their import needs.

This is the group of countries most severely affected by the sharp increases in energy, fertilizer and food prices of the 1972-74 period. Faced with a scarcity of resources and in some cases, the ecological undermining of food system, this 'Fourth World' desperately needs help from outside.

An example of ecological over-stress is the tragedy unfolding in the African countries south of the Sahara. Over the past forty years, human and livestock populations along the sub-Sahara fringe (Mauretania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad-known as Sahelian zone)

The 'Fourth World' & its Food problems

have nearly doubled. As the populations increased, they have put more pressure on the ecosystem that it can withstand. The result has been over grazing and deforestation thereby encouraging the advancement of the Sahara Desert at rates between 15 and 30 miles per year all along the 3500 mile southern fringe stretching from Senegal to northern Ethiopia. With the desert advancing, human and livestock populations retreat.

Perspectives

In turn this process exerts greater pressure on the balance fringe area, which contributes to further denudation and deforestation. Several consecutive years of drought brought about the deteriorating situation with famine some ten years back. If the process of desertification is not reversed, then Africa-which has one of the highest population growth rates-may lose a sizable slice of its food-producing capacity.

The Indian sub-continent provides another example of ecological over-stress. As human and livestock populations have grown, the sub continent has been progressively deforested. This trend perhaps has increased the incidence and severity of floods. The situation is most serious in Himalayas and the surrounding foothills where the rivers Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra originate. Then came Pakistan's worst floods in August 1973, destroyed the harvested wheat crop in storage as well as the standing crops. If deforestation is not checked Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Nepal will undermine their food-producing capacity-this means over three quarters of a billion people would be affected for their delicately balanced food.

Thus these countries need immediate remedial measures to combat ecological over-stress. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has taken the initiative in South Sahara to halt the expanding desert. Such reforestation is needed in South Asia as well,

in this case to combat the floods.

For future developments to get over periodical food shortage famines, besides environmental development which has been briefly mentioned already, these countries like the other Third World countries should proceed with

- Scientific and technical developments in their food production
- Control of population

- Improve the socio-economic conditions of their people.

In scientific and technical developments better seed varieties, controlled water supply, proper fertilizer application, control of pests, needed energy, needed capital loan and above all knowledgeable farmers are needed. There has been break-through in seed varieties particularly with wheat and paddy. Further adaptive research is needed so that the outcome of the research is readily applicable to the farmer as he is, and not what the authorities would like him to be. Controlled irrigation is another factor in greater production. Only about 20% of world's arable land is under irrigation. Further development in this direction means large capital which the fourth world countries can ill afford. It is here that developed countries and International Organisations can help in locating the schemes, giving technical guidance and necessary loans. In the use of fertilizer, the constraint is the cost particularly after the oil price hike. Oil price increases have seriously affected third and fourth world countries in their fertilizer use. Countries do help their farmers with subsidies but this cannot go on indefinitely. External aid is needed in this sector. For the other needs of the farmers, a good agricultural extension service is an absolute "must". It is not out of place to mention here that only 3 countries made a success with small

farmers namely Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. Their success can be attributed to

- agricultural research provided such technology, oriented to the resources and managerial competence of small farmers,
- introduced mechanical power only where crucial,
- labour intensity,
- introduced technology to make animal and human labour more productive and human labour less menial and demeaning,
- developed price policies and marketing institutions to provide the small farmer security against losses in order to reduce his risks.
- tailored educational programmes to the needs of small farmers.

The arithmetic of population growth is familiar to all. The current world population growth rate of nearly 2 percent annually brings about doubling the population every 35 years. Some of the fourth world countries add more to the world's annual population gain than some of the larger, richer ones. In the fourth world any impressive food production growth is wholly absorbed by increases in population. The result is virtually no improvement in per-capita food production. Further more, given the growing scarcity of the basic inputs of land, water, energy and fertilizer, it is unlikely that the fourth world countries will be able to improve their diets significantly in the foreseeable future unless they can quickly reduce their birth rates. Thus a firm family planning campaign is essential in these countries if they have to solve their food and other problems.

Efforts to increase food production cannot and is not done in isolation. It

has to fit in with other developments in the general economy of the country. Increases in food production are dependent on the operation of the general economy of the country in the following ways. The general economy has to produce or pay for the importation of the producer goods required of an improved agricultural system (e.g. improved seeds fertilizer, insecticides, machines). The general economy must absorb in remunerative jobs the surplus labour released by agriculture. The general economy has to generate (a) the personal incomes among non-farm people to purchase the surplus products of agriculture at prices that provide an incentive for farmers to increase production further and (b) the savings to support the rates of investment required by farm and non-farm productive enterprises and finally the total economy (farm and non-farm) has to provide the tax revenues to support the infra structure, the research organisations and the educational system required of a modern farm and non-farm economy.

COPING WITH

FOREIGN AID

The development envisaged is generally beyond the resources of a fourth-world country. Outside assistance in a big way is needed. It is one thing to receive the aid and it is another story how best to utilize the aid received. Many of the governments in fourth world would not be able to cope with massive foreign assistance with changes of a social, political and institutional nature.

The fourth world food dilemma is, even in normal times they are hard put to finding the foreign exchange to purchase their requirements. On the top of it, if a food crisis develops due to persistent adverse weather conditions, these countries are at the mercy of outside help to stave off famine. The FAO has a good food warning system and should be in a position to seek the assistance of countries like U.S.A. for the needed

(Continued on page 10)

Since Independence the head of the executive of our Country was the Governor General who was really the representative of the Queen of England. Although Constitutionally the power to appoint and remove the Governor General was vested with the Queen, conventionally and practically she acted on the advice of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

With the Constitution of 1972, Sri Lanka became a "Republic" whereby the Governor General was replaced by a President. According to this Constitution the National Assembly was the Supreme Instrument of the State Power and it exercised its executive power through the President and Cabinet of Ministers. Since the National State Assembly was the Supreme organ in terms of power, the President was not a powerful entity. He exercised his executive power only on the advice of the Prime Minister or the Minister who had been specifically authorised to do so by the Prime Minister. (27 (1)). Thus he was only the nominal head of the executive.

THE 1978 CONSTITUTION

Any Citizen who is qualified to be an elector at an election may be nominated by the Prime Minister for the office of President. He assumes office upon his taking the oath before the Chief Judge of the Highest Appellate Court. The term of office of the President was four years and there was no legal barrier to reappoint him again for further terms.

With the 1978 constitution we see a marked difference with respect to powers as well as mode of selection of the President. According to this constitution, President is the head of the state, head of the executive and of the government. (30). Accordingly, President has been vested with more power, overshadowing that of Prime Minister and the supremacy of the Parliament. Furthermore, President is also the head of the Cabinet of Ministers. (43 (2)).

President has been vested with so much of power because of the mode of his selection. The constitution says one way of exercising sovereignty of the people is the use of Franchise at an election of the President (4 e). Such importance has been given to this "right to vote", be-

The Presidential election process in Sri Lanka

cause the President is elected by all the voters of this country, for a prescribed period, i.e. 6 years (30 (2)).

Every Citizen who is duly registered as an elector enjoys the right to exercise the vote freely, equally and through secret ballot (93). Any citizen who is registered as a voter may be nominated as a candidate for the Presidency. But in such instances he should be nominated:

i) He should not have been convicted and undergoing a term of imprisonment for a crime, bribery, election offences, corrupt practices etc.,

Term of office of the President would commence on 4th Feb: next succeeding the date of his election. He holds the office for a period of 6 years from that date (31 (2)). Normally, parliament could be dissolved & an election could be held at any time during its life

Voters A,B,C,D, had indicated their preferences for candidates X,Y,Z.

VOTER	CANDIDATE		
	X	Y	Z
A	2	1	3
B	1	2	3
C	2	3	1
D	1	3	2

At an election if a candidate had obtained one half of the total polled, he would be declared elected. For example assume the total registered voters are

	1st Preference	2nd Preference	total
A	49,000	500	49,500
B	30,000	20,500	50,500

Accordingly, although A had polled more 1st Preferences in view of the fact that B's total preferences exceed total of A's poll B gets elected as President. If the number of votes polled by A & B equals, in such a situation the Commissioner of Elections could select the candidate elected by a process of a toss.

The decision of the Commissioner of Elections in respect of matters pertaining to this election would be final. No action or legal proceedings could be instituted by any party against the decision of the commissioner for the same.

If the death occurred of any person prior to his election or after election but prior to assumption of duties a fresh election should be held to elect a President. (62 (1)). Further by a Court verdict at an election petition a person's election had been set aside and in that verdict if no one else had been declared duly elected, a fresh election must be held to fill that vacancy. The person who gets elected under such an election would hold the office for the balance unexpired period of office.

WHEN OFFICE FALLS VACANT

If the Office of Presidency falls vacant during its term (excluding the instances indicated above) ie. in following circumstances:

- Death
- Resignation
- Ceases to be a citizen
- Removed from office by a resolution of Parliament
- Failure to assume office within one month

Then the procedure for the election of the President would be entirely different.

Within one month of such vacancy, the Parliament must fill that vacancy from among the members of the Parliament. When the parliament had not been dissolved, within 30 days of occurrence of such vacancy, the parliament must meet & submit nominations from among their

(Continued on page 11)

by

Mahinda Ralapanawa

B. A. (Cey) Dev. Studies, Cambridge

a) If he is a candidate of a recognised political party by the Secretary of the political party.

b) If he has been an elected member of the legislature, by the Secretary of any other political party or by a registered elector.(31(1)).

A candidate of a recognised political party has to make a deposit of Rs. 50,000/- while a candidate of any other party or an independent candidate Rs. 75,000/-

A Presidential candidate should possess the following qualifications:

- Should be a citizen of Sri Lanka;
- Should have attained 30 years of age on the specified date;
- Should not be of unsound mind;
- Should not be a holder of a post in the armed forces or in the judiciary;
- Should not be a person who had been declared bankrupt or insolvent;
- Should not be a holder of Government office whose annual salary which exceeds Rs.6720/- or corporation employee whose annual salary which exceeds Rs 7200/-
- Should not have been twice elected to the office of President;
- Should not have been removed from the office of President by a resolution of the Parliament;

term period. But before the completion of the prescribed term of office of the President, an election to elect a President cannot be held either at the request or necessity of the President or of the Parliament. This is because the constitution specifically says a poll for the election of the President shall be held not less than one month and not more than two months before the expiration of the term of office of the President in office. (31 (3)).

President is elected by all registered voters of Sri Lanka. The Commissioner of Elections has been vested with the responsibility of holding the Presidential Elections. For convenience, just as in parliamentary elections, this election also will be conducted on the basis of polling booths. Results of respective polling booths are integrated into district levels and district level total votes are aggregated to obtain the all Island results.

PREFERENCE VOTES

In Sri Lanka upto now we have been used to voting by making a cross against the name of the candidate whom we prefer. But now in the Presidential elections, when there are more than two candidates we could indicate our preferences. This could easily be explained from the following example:

1,25,000 and the total votes polled was 1,000,00 and candidate A,B,C, had polled:

- 49,000
- 30,000
- 21,000 - respectively.

None of the candidates could be declared elected because out of 1,00,000 of votes polled, no single candidate has been able to poll one half namely 50,000 votes.

In such circumstances excluding the two candidates who has polled the highest amount of votes namely A & B in this instance, the other candidate should be eliminated from the poll and a count of the second preferences of such eliminated candidates should be taken. After counting such preferences they should be added to the votes of the two uneliminated candidates (i.e. A&B) and the person who obtains the majority should be declared duly elected.

In the above example if B's 30,000 first preference and second & third preferences received by him does not exceed 49,000 first preferences and the total second & total third preferences received by A then A gets duly elected. But on 20,000 votes polled by C if the voting pattern was as follows results could take a different turn.

PILGRIMAGES TO NEPAL : VISA REGULATIONS RELAXED

Sri Lankans who want to go to Nepal on pilgrimage will no longer face visa problems.

The Royal Nepalese Consul General to Sri Lanka, Dr. Subash Chawla has, in a press release, announced that visa regulations for Sri Lankan pilgrims to Nepal have been relaxed with immediate effect "in view of the close religious, cultural and friendly relations so happily subsisting between the Kingdom of Nepal and the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka."

Under the new scheme, the Nepalese Government has decided to waive visa fees on Sri Lankan pilgrims. These pilgrims should have, along with a valid passport, a separate identity paper certifying that they are pilgrims. Where it is not possible to get a separate identity paper, the certification may be endorsed in the passport, the press release states. A service charge of Rs. 11/- will be

levied for a pilgrim's **Gratis Visa.**

The Deputy Secretary of

the Royal Nepalese Consulate General will assist pilgrims with the formalities and answer queries.

Tamil Rights Group demands release of Kuttimani & Jegan

The **TAMIL RIGHTS GROUP**, of 87 GOWER STREET, LONDON WC 1E 6AA has sent the following telegram to President J. R. Jayawardene:

We, the representatives of Tamil speaking organizations in U.K. meeting on 18th August,

a) condemn the conviction and sentence of death passed on Kuttimani and Jegan;

b) note that this miscarriage of justice was based on confessions obtained under torture;

c) note that their trial and the investigation preceding it were carried out under the universally-condemned Prevention of Terrorism Act;

d) observe with disgust that the Sri Lanka Government is re-introducing the death penalty, which has been in abeyance for nearly twenty-five years; and

e) call upon the Government of Sri Lanka to release Kuttimani and Jegan.

Remembering the atom bombs over Hiroshima...

(Continued from page 7)

mental personalities to the "Yasukuni shrine" which was built to commemorate the soldiers who died in the Second World War: the shrine conveys the idea that the spirits of those who gave their lives for the Emperor and the motherland are blessed. The official recognition of this shrine revives the patriotic sentiments of the public and their high esteem of their Army.

The ruling party, Liberal Democratic Party, is today using the Russian Military threat from the North as an excuse to increase its military power, to actually protect the economic interests of Japanese businessmen at home and abroad. Though post-war Japan bitterly resented having a national army and created only a tame Self-Defense Force for security, and enshrined in their constitution a 1% ceiling on

their budget for Defence purposes, yet today the national defense budget is the eighth largest in the world. Japan is also equipped with the strongest, most modern arms in the world in terms of conventional weaponry. The participation of Japanese Forces in the RIMPAC military exercises conducted around Hawaii for three weeks by the forces of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and United States shows that the purpose of the Japanese Army can no longer be limited only to internal security.

If Hiroshima ceremonies should convey the image of Japan as a peaceful and passive nation, we are mistaken. The "Peace-Symbol" of Hiroshima is the cover under which modern Japan is fast growing as an economic and military superpower which can prove dangerous to the neighbouring Asian countries.

LETTERS

Vavuniya,
Aug 26th, 1982.

The Editor,
"Saturday Review"

Dear Sir,

THE PANDARA VANNIAN FESTIVAL IN VAVUNIYA

The comments of **Spectator** on the Pandara Vannian festival in Vavuniya in the Saturday Review of August 14th lack common sense, sensibility and grace. As also a spectator I wish to state that the festival was a great success

and was one of the finest ever held in the history of Vanni. Very often the venue of such festivals is an elitist town such as Colombo, Kandy or Jaffna. The G.A. Vavuniya Mr. K. C. Logeswaran and the members of the D.D. Council must be heartily congratulated for the organization and success of the event and festival in spite of the many odds and criticism with which they had to work. There is not the slightest doubt that the rank and file of the Vanni people would rejoice that such a great festival was held and that it was a success.

The festival achieved the following:

First, it was an occasion which aroused the long buried and forgotten national feelings and aspirations of the Vanni people. It created a keen interest in their own distinct history, culture and identity. The festival has made the name of Pandara Vannian a household word in the district.

Secondly, there are several communities of Tamil people living in the Vanni. The hill country Tamils settled here are all latest additions. In spite of the tensions between them the festival helped to bring all these communities together to commemorate and celebrate the memory of a national hero. The

fact that large numbers of Sinhalese and Muslims and even Buddhist monks participated is of significance and meaning for this multi-racial and religious district. In such areas we must be able to commend to each other our various cultural gifts. The festival was an opportunity to do this.

Thirdly, Vavuniya is a poor agricultural district which is denied all occasions of high or any culture or even platform humour. The Vanni village folk are tremendously grateful for the opportunity given to them not only to celebrate a national hero of their district but also to listen to Tamil Scholars of S. India and Sri Lanka and participate without payment in the performance of South Indian Artistes such as Manjula and Asantha.

Let not party politics, party rivalries and party prejudices mar our common sense and sensibility. Let us acknowledge anything good done by anybody and give the person the credit he deserves. Let not our small world be broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls as poet Rabindranath Tagore prayed.

Yours sincerely,
Another Spectator.

Valvetty,
Valvettiturai.
23-8-82.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.

Sir,

TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS

With reference to the article published in your esteemed journal on 24-7-82 by one of our reader Mr P. S. Gnanaseelan on the subject: "Teaching of Mathematics", I wish to fully endorse the views expressed by the reader. His views are relevant, convincing and down to earth practical.

The reader has dispassionately analysed the pros and cons of the Teaching of Mathematics. It is high time this engaged the attention and interest of all in the name of the "Innocent Child" to whom the present system is a great handicap.

The mathematics Teaching Programme now in progress deserves serious thinking and calls for proper remedies.

Let us not raise our hands against children with ideas of educational regimentation. It has never helped anyone anywhere.

M. Nadarajah.

The 'Fourth World'

(Continued from page 8)

grains. If however at the time grains are needed, the U.S.A. has been committed for bulk of its grains (eg. to USSR in 1972) then the situation becomes desperate. Occasionally during food crises we hear of the use of the word 'triage'. In World War I casualties were grouped into three categories-the worst group ie. the group that had the

least chance of survival is termed triage. This group was treated last and this meant sometimes virtually allowed to die because by the time medical attention was given to the first two groups, it was too late. Applying to the food front if there isn't enough food aid to go around, some developing countries (mainly of the fourth world) may have to be left to their own resources, which means nothing. This is the stark

reality and every effort should be made to avoid such a situation.

To which group does this country belong? Though the per capita income is low compared to affluent Third World Countries, due to its reasonably favourable position to food and other resources compared to most Fourth World Countries, this country is comfortably in the Third World Group.

Paranthan : A settlement in sight

The strike of the workers of Paranthan Chemical Factory which had been dragging for nine long months seems to be nearing a settlement. It is learnt that the main demands of the workers have been granted by the Administration. After the signing of the agreement between the Labour Union and the Administration of the Chemical Corporation on Monday (6th of September), the workers are expected to report to work on the 15th of this month.

About 375 workers, including both technicians and labourers, of the Paranthan Chemical Corporation

have been on strike since last November; their main demands were: (a) The reinstatement of the Leaders of their Labour Union who had been suspended by the Management. (b) The re-opening of the Labour Union Office which had been forcibly closed. (c) The re-employment of the temporary workers who had been dismissed. It is learnt that as the Management has granted the above demands, the workers will abandon their strike.

It is reported that when the agreement between the

Management and the Ceylon Mercantile Union is signed on Monday, the leaders who had been suspended from work would be reinstated without conditions or inquiries. Though the permanent workers will report to work on the 15th, the casual workers will be re-employed only gradually.

It is significant that the Ceylon Mercantile Union had organised an effective Island Wide Paranthan Struggle Week from August 23rd to the 27th, culminating with a public rally at Hyde Park, in an effort to bring a speedier solution to the untiring demands of the workers.

IIIrd Stage eating into State cement?

The third stage development project, which has been registered as a public company, is swallowing up the income and assets of the State-owned KKS Cement Factory.

This is the charge levelled by the Cement Factory General Workers' Union which is dead against what it describes as the surreptitious amalgamation of the

two units. The Union wants this halted immediately and is preparing for trade union action to back up its demand.

The Union points out that workers recruited for the Factory are being posted to the third stage project and vice versa.

It demands that the assets and the personnel of the two units be kept distinct.

Tamils in Victoria Plan raffle for library funds

The Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria which has already collected 3000 Australian dollars for the Jaffna Public Library Building Fund, is planning to hold a Raffle to collect a further 2,500 dollars in aid of the Fund.

The attractive prizes offered are: Two Return Air Tickets to Colombo or Madras (First prize), Two Return Air Tickets to Fiji plus accommodation (Sec-

ond prize), Two Return Air Tickets to Hobart plus accommodation (Third prize).

The Association's Secretary Mr. Ilango Navaratnam, has informed the Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Raja Visuwanathan, that donations of children's books and technical books which have been collected by University dons will be sent to the Library in the course of this month.

The Presidential election process....

(Continued from page 9)

members for the Presidency. If the Parliament had been dissolved it should elect a President within one month of the first meeting of that parliament and at its such meeting it should fix the date for acceptance of nominations.

On the date of nominations if only one name had been proposed such person would be declared elected as the President. But at such nominations if more than one name had been proposed, within two days after such nominations, an election must be held to select a President.

Such elections would be held within the Parliament & Secretary General of Parliament would serve as the Returning Officer. In such an election right to be proposed & right to propose & second the name of a candidate as well as to vote in such an election will be restricted only to members of parliament.

In Parliament when names are called, M.P.'s would collect their ballot and would vote in secret, indicating their preferences.

In such an election if any candidate obtains more than one half of the total polled, he should be declared elected. When no such candidate obtains more than one half, in

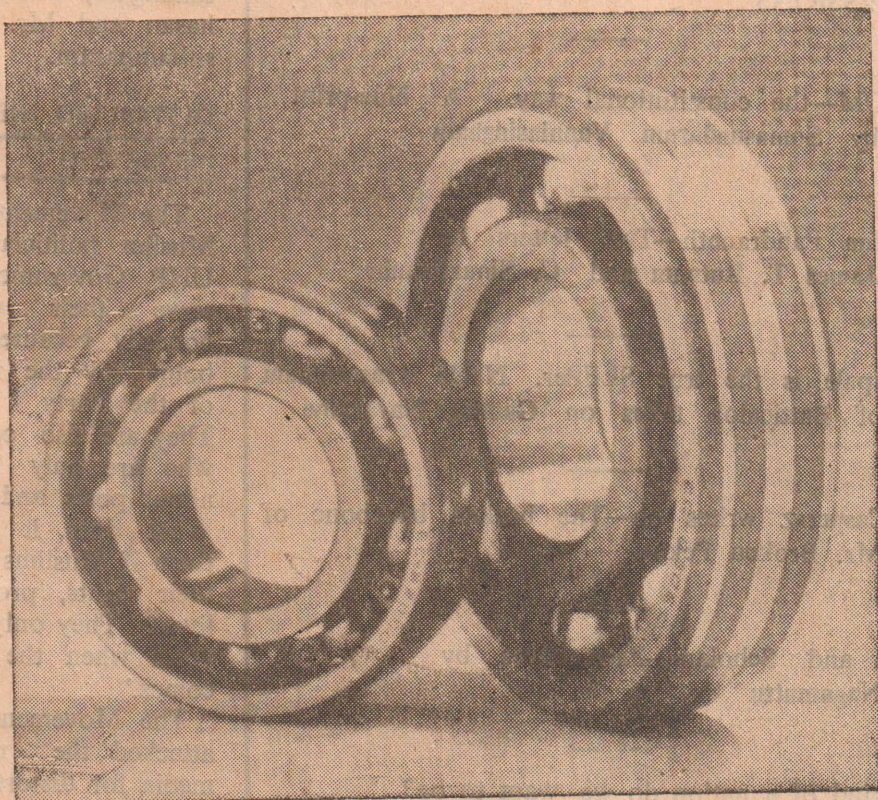
such instances the candidate who has polled least should be eliminated from the contest in such order and second & third preferences in that order of those eliminated should be counted & aggregated with the first preferences of candidates who had polled most.

In such aggregation if any person had obtained more than one half of votes, such candidate should be declared elected. When all the candidates except the two who had polled most had been eliminated and if still no candidate had obtained more than one half, the person who had obtained the majority of votes in such a contest should be declared elected as President.

If any two or more candidates had polled equal amount the returning officer would decide at his discretion by a process of toss, which candidate had been duly elected or which candidate should be eliminated in the elimination process.

If the Supreme Court has given a verdict to the effect of any such person elected is found guilty of any corrupt practices, then in such an event Secretary General of Parliament should take action to hold a fresh election for the selection of a President.

NTN BALL AND ROLLER BEARINGS



SOLE AGENTS AND DISTRIBUTORS:

**Consolidated Bearings
And Supply Ltd.**

23, Bristol Street, Colombo 1
548165 Cable: JIMPOBEAR

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

TULF to soft-pedal the Eelam issue

(Continued from page 1)

The TULF is likely to soft-pedal the Tamil Eelam issue in its talks with opposition leaders, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands. Instead the Front will insist on the opposition's acceptance of a minimum programme if it is to throw its weight behind a possible common Opposition Presidential candidate.

The minimum demands centre round regional autonomy: the Front wants the opposition parties to agree to key sectors like colonisation, education and employment coming under the purview of development councils.

TULF sources told the SATURDAY REVIEW that if the minimum demands are not acceptable to the opposition groups, the Front has no option but to sit out the Presidential election.

Pressed about possible TULF support for United National Party candidate, President J.R. Jayawardene, these sources were emphatic that under no circumstances will the Front ask the Tamil people to support the UNP's Presidential candidate.

The question of a free vote does not arise, they added, but declined to say whether this implies a *de facto* TULF boycott of the forthcoming Presidential election.

Galle Muslims express lack of faith in their leaders

Muslims have begun to lose faith in the pro-UNP Muslim leadership, following the anti-Muslim riots in Galle — which took a heavy toll — during the last week of July and the first week of August.

The Islamic Welfare Movement (Islamia Semanala Iyakkam) a representative organisation in Galle, has written independent letters in Tamil in early August to the Leader of the Opposition and TULF Secretary-General, Mr. A. Amirthalingam and the TULF Legal Secretary, Mr. S. C. Chandrachud, expressing its bitter disillusionment with the leadership. The movement has also expressed its gratitude and thanks to Mr. Amirthalingam, Mr. Chandrachud and Mr. M. Sivasubramanian.

DISTORTED NEWS REPORTING

The Movement says "the Muslim politicians in the UNP Government cannot serve their community honestly because they are bound by the iron hand of the Party leadership. They are also opportunists who are only concerned about posts and positions. What does it matter to them if Muslims are losing their rights, property and lives? They only need our votes when the election comes."

The Movement has also attacked the mainstream media for distorted reporting of the anti-Muslim violence in Galle.

Accusing the security forces of partiality and discrimination, the Movement says "Though it is true that Police and the Army were rushed to the area, yet they failed to maintain law and order. When shops and houses of Muslims were looted and

set on fire, the Police turned a blind eye to these acts.

"While thugs were given freedom to move about in Galle, the movements of Muslims were curtailed, as if it was the Muslims who were to blame for all the disturbances in Galle. Hundreds of innocent Muslims were arrested by the Police and were treated brutally. Not only did the Police Officers fail to take down the complaints of Muslims but our efforts to communicate our sufferings there to the outside world were also prevented by telephone communication lines being cut off."

The Islamic Welfare Movement also pointed out the discriminatory treatment meted out by the Doctors and Nurses of the Galle Hospital, who failed to give prompt and adequate attention to Muslims who were injured during the disturbances.

But the most blistering attack of the Movement was against the conduct of the Muslim M.Ps. "M. H.

Mohammed, the Minister of Transport, arrived in Galle on the 29th of August to settle the dispute, as the publicity by Government suggested. But on arriving he contacted the Police, accepted their word that the situation was under control, and flew back to Colombo to convey that message heroically to his Government. But a car in which our friends had gone to convey their plight to the Minister was attacked and six men were severely injured by thugs, within minutes of the Minister flying off. At the same time, shops owned by Muslims in the heart of the Galle town were also burnt.

When we informed this to the Speaker, Mr. Bakeer Markar, his tongue-in-the-cheek reply was "our Honourable Minister has reported that he has brought the situation under control!" This shows the personal rivalry between the Muslim politicians and how far they are from the problems of the Muslim people."

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

NEXT WEEK

and in forthcoming issues

S. C. Chandrachud writes on COURTS OF CONFESSIONS

EEYLOM—the constitutional way. A blue-print by Somasundaram Vanniasingham

Sir Jafna Pandranath—Two letters by James T. Rutnam and C. Sinnathamby

Maithripala is the true SLFPer. Noble Arasaratnam of Batticaloa takes on Gamini Navaratne

Paul Caspersz writes on—The broken backbone of Mr. Broken Pekoe

Schools and Scholars—Perspectives by Nagamuttu

What kind of a nation do we want to be? An Australian writes on Australian multi-culturalism

The Dowry Debate continues.



Mrs. B is now out of the political scene

Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike will not be involved in any political activity from now on until the completion of the forthcoming Presidential election, according to the Sinhala daily DINAKARA. Mrs. Bandaranaike who stands stripped of her civic rights has taken this step on legal advice, according to the report.